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D^r. Lavington Bishop of Exeter, Author of the Enthusiasm
of Methodists and Papists compared, begins his Work with
large Quotations from and high praises of the following
history of Montanism; and in the Preface of his book
says, 'The history of Montanism was written by the late
learned D^r. Lee, of S^t. John's College, Oxford; compiled with
great diligence and exactness; and published with D^r.
Kiche's Enthusiasm Exorcised, in the Year 1709. —

— And I am much mistaken, if our Methodists
(though not yet arrived to the same height of madness)
may not here sit for their pictures, and be traced in
all their lineaments. Lavington, Pref. Vol. I. 1754

THE
Spirit of Enthusiasm
EXORCISED:

In a SERMON Preach'd
Before the *University of Oxford*, &c.

The Fourth Edition, much enlarg'd.
By GEORGE HICKES. D.D.

WITH TWO
DISCOURSES

Occasioned by the
NEW PROPHETS

Pretensions to
INSPIRATION and MIRACLES.

THE FIRST
The History of Montanism,

By a LAY-GENTLEMAN.

W. F. L. E. of St. John's College OXFORD.

THE OTHER

The NEW PRETENDERS to Prophecy
Examined. By N. SPINCKES,
a Presbyter of the Church of England.

LONDON Printed for RICHARD SARE,
at *Grays-Inn-Gate*, in *Holborn*, 1709.

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To the REVEREND
Sir *George Wheler*, D.D.

AND
Prebendary of the Cathedral Church
of *Durham*.

SIR,

I DOUBT not but you will be much surprized to see your Name prefixed before this Book, which, without asking leave, I present unto you, as a publick Testimony of my Gratitude for the many and great Obligations I have received from you, for above *forty* Years, especially for the last *twenty*, in which the change of my Fortune, with that of the Times, has made no alteration in your Friendship, or in the Respect you have all along shew'd me, from the time you came under my Tuition, in *Lincoln-College*: to which you were a great Ornament in your Youth, and afterwards a great Benefactor in *Greek MSS.* as well as to the University in *Marbles*, valuable for curious *Greek* Inscriptions. SIR, All these costly *Antiquities* you brought from

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Athens, and other Parts of *Greece*, and *Asia*, over which you travelled in company of the famous *Dr. Spon* of *Lyons*; and after your return home, after his Example, oblig'd the World first with a ^a learned Account of your Journey in those Parts, while you wore the Sword, and then after you had offered that upon the Altar, with an ^b *Account of the Churches of the Primitive Christians*, which you were pleased to do at my Request in a Letter, wherein I desired you to give the World the *Plans* and *Sculptures* of the Churches in *Tyre*, *Hierusalem*, and *Constantinople*, described by *Eusebius*.

Among the many other Favours received from you, I cannot here forbear to mention the kind and seasonable Offer you made me to accompany you in your Travels at the time, when my Physician had charg'd me, as I loved my Life, to leave the College for a Year, and travel about my own Country. No Blessing, S I R, ever happened more *providentially* to a Man, than this did to me. For while I travelled with you at your own Charges in *France*, I perfectly recovered my Health; and therefore you must allow me to say, that to you, under God, I owe my Life, for which this Book, whereof I make an Offering to you, is but a small and inconsiderable, though a very hearty Acknowledgment, upon which account, I assure myself, it will be accepted by you.

^a Printed in Folio, at London, with variety of Sculptures, 1682.

^b Printed at London, 1689.

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It consists of *Three Discourses*, every one of which is intended to shew the Vanity of the Pretensions of our new Prophets to Miracles, and Inspiration. The First is *my own*, and it is the least Part of the Whole: But when I put it to the Press, it was with a Design to finish the Two others. But God having been pleased to disable me by Sicknefs, and a long ensuing Weakness, I could not perform what I had projected, and therefore desired two *Learned Friends*, who were privy to my Undertaking, to finish it for me, which they have done, in their several Parts, to my *Satisfaction*, and I hope, to the *Satisfaction* of the World; the one in his *Historical Account of Montanism*, which I think was never done before, and the other in his *Examination of the new Pretenders to prophecy*, out of their Books, their *own Records* of their Actions, and Works.

The Author of the First of these Two is a Gentleman of the Laity, so insuperably modest, that he will not let his Name be known, *but the Work shews the skill, and Ability of the Workman*, and without speaking any thing more to his praise, I shall only tell you, that he is a Person of great Piety, and singular Modesty, as well as Learning, and one of *your Friends*, who hath given the World other Specimens of his Piety and Learning before *this History of Montanism*, all which have been well received, and some of them in more Editions than one.

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The Author of the *Second* having published his Name, I need say nothing of him, because he is so well known for his Book of *Trust in God*, and his silencing, irrefragable ^c Answer to the *Essay towards a Proposal for Catholick Communion*, the most subtle and deceitful Book, that ever was written by any *English* Apostat, *Parsons* not excepted, and which was dispersed by the *Roman Catholics* with great diligence among Protestants in all Places, as a converting and unanswerable Piece. This Author, *You* know, as well as the other *knows* you, and they both have so much esteem for you, that I dare take upon me to offer this Book to you, as a joint Testification of their respect for you, as well as my own.

But, *SIR*, there is another reason, besides their Respect, and my Obligations to you, for which I have chosen to prefix your Name to these Three Discourses, and that is your great Love for *primitive Divinity*, and your great Study in it, as would appear, if you would publish what you have written against the evil Practice of *Occasional Communion*, in which you have shew'd the Harmony that is between the *ancient Canons*, and those of our Church upon that Subject, and what the Duty is, and Practice of the Clergy ought to be, as to that Point.

Another Consideration, which invited me to dedicate this Work to you, is your being a Mem-

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ber of that Venerable Society, which in most particular manner encouraged me in my Undertaking to write and publish my ^d *two Books in Folio, of the Septentrional Learning.* For such a publick Address to a Member of it, I thought would indispenfably oblige me to make as publick an Acknowledgment of my Gratitude, and to desire *You* to be my Orator, to give your *Honourable Dean, and Reverend Chapter*, most humble and immortal Thanks, in my Name, for the Encouragements I received from them, in composing that laborious Work, which without their singular Aid and Assistance, I could not have carried on with so much Ease, nor finish'd with Success. Indeed, as your ancient Church, and Bishoprick, make an illustrious Part of *Bede's History*: so their old Writers make a great Figure in those Books. For *Bede* himself; the Book of the *Latin Gospels*, with the Interlineary *Dano-Saxonick* Version in the *Bodleyan*; that of the same kind in the *Cottonian Library* NERO D. 4. *Cædmon*, the divinely inspired Poet; *Ormulum*; the famous *MS. of Dano-Saxonick Poems* in the Library of the Church of *Exon*. One of your own ancient *MS S.* in Quarto, which is the first in my Catalogue of your *MS S.* not to mention others, were all written within the ancient Pale of your Church, of which there is now a Learned Member, and a great

^d *Antiquæ Literaturæ Septentrionalis Libri Duo, &c. Oxoniæ, E. Theatro Sheldoniano, MDCCV.*

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Master of the ancient *Septentrional* Languages, and Antiquities, who will oblige the World with a new, and most accurate Edition of *Bede's Ecclesiastical History*. With him I often wished to be, while I was composing my own *difficult* Work, and whose Assistance, could I have had it, or that of the Right Reverend Bishop of *Carlisle*, while I was about it, it would certainly have been better, than it is.

SIR, I shall not detain you from the Book, with a long Account of the several Discourses in it. The *First*, you know, was first preached and published thirty Years since, to rescue the Scriptures from the perverse Interpretations of Pretenders to the Spirit of all Sorts, and what you will find observed in it^e about trying the Spirit of *Montanus*, and his Followers, agrees, I think to the *Sevenne-Prophets*, and their Followers here, and to complete the Parallel between them, I thought it expedient to write the History of *Montanism*, which, I have done, thanks to the worthy Author, by a much better Hand, than mine own. I doubt not, SIR, but you will have much pleasure in reading of it; and if our new *Montanists* will peruse it, they may see very much of themselves in it, and in the Third Discourse they will also find that the Author hath followed the venerable Examples of the^f Tryers of the *Montanists*, who taught the People, that Pretenders to Prophecy and Inspiration, *were like Trees, to be*

^e P. 38, 39.

^f Euseb. Eccles. Hist. Lib. v. Cap. xvi, xvii, xviii, xix.

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tried by their Fruits. Accordingly his Discourse is a full Examination, and fair Tryal of their Pretensions; wherein, like *Zoticus, Miltiades,* and *Apollonius*, he hath shewn, from their Works and Actions, as related in their own Writings, that their *Spirit* is a Spirit of *Delusion*, which cannot be from God; and by just consequence, that if they are not *Impostors*, and *Deluders* themselves, they must be a *most deluded* People, either purely by their own distempered Imaginations, or by Inspirations from a *Satanical Spirit*, or by the conjunction of both together. Mr. *Lacy*, one of the *Chiefs* of this Pseudo-prophetical Sect, represents the Clergy as averse to them *out of Interest*, which is a very absurd Exception, because the Paradisical Happiness of that State, which they say is *approaching*, is infinitely preferable to all the Preferments, and Riches, and Enjoyments in this, whether in Church or State. Who, SIR, would not desire to *reign with Christ* upon Earth? Who would not wish to be a *Citizen of the New Hierusalem*? To see the *Grand Jubilee*, and live in the *Blessed Millennium*, and desire such an happy Revolution, as the coming of *Christ* must make upon Earth? Who is there that would not long to see this *acceptable Tear of the Lord*; the *Marriage of the Lamb*; the *glorious Kingdom of the Messias*, and say in his Heart, *Come Lord Jesus, come quickly.* I verily believe there's not *one* among the Clergy, unless he should be an Atheist, who would not be glad to see the Approaches
of

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of such a blessed Change, little less to be desired than Heaven by them, and all other Men. And such learned Persons as Sir R. Bulkely, cannot but know, how many Clergymen have written of the *blessed Millennium*; and that some of them now living have, upon Computation of the Prophetical Times, foretold the Commencement of it within a very few Years, and God grant their Computation may be true. Certainly, SIR, there is not one believing *Clergy-man* of the Church, who will not join with me in this Prayer, and heartily wish he may live to see such a State of Earthly Happiness as is incomparably more desirable, than to be a Bishop of the most opulent Church, or the greatest Monarch of the Earth. For my own part, SIR, were I a King, as great and happy as *Augustus Cæsar*, I would willingly put my Scepter in the Hand of King *Jesus*, and lay my Crown at his Feet, and cry as loud, and as heartily, as Mr. Lacy, or the *Amanuensis* of his Spirit: *Hosannah in the highest; blessed is he that cometh in the Name of the Lord. Hosannah in the highest.*

If *Interest* therefore would oblige the Clergy, even the *greatest worldly Interest*, it would oblige them on the Side of the Prophets, and make them write for them, rather than against them. But in Truth, SIR, we write against them now no more out of *Interest*, than the ancient Clergy did against the *Montanists* in the Ages of Persecution; and in particular as to this Book, the largest part of it is written by a
Laick;

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Laick; and the other two by Priests, who neither have, nor can have any thing of what Mr. *Lacy* means by *Interest*, to make us write against them. SIR, if Mr. *Lacy* impartially considers this, I hope he will be convinced, that we have not written our several Parts of it out of *Interest*, but out of a pure Intention to do him, and his Pseudo-Fellow-Prophets good; and that therefore they will read all the Discourses in it without Prejudice, as coming from Men, who write with a very honest Intention, and out of pure Charity against that *Spirit of Delusion*, by which they have been misled themselves, and mislead others, and, by their Pretensions to the Holy Spirit, and his miraculous Gifts, have given Occasion to those common Enemies of Revealed Religion, *the Atheists, Deists, and Scepticks*, to blaspheme God, and the Manifestation of himself in the *Old, and New Testament* after such a manner, as those *Pareostatics*, and their Followers may imagine, is not fit for me to express. For, Sir, they pretend to Inspiration, and Propheying in *Sucking Babes*, and *Children in the Cradle*, which was never heard of in the Church under any Dispensation, nor any thing like it, but in that single Instance of *St. Cyprian*: *Apud nos Spiritu Sancto Puerorum innocens ætas, quæ in extasi vidit Oculis, & audit, & loquitur ea quibus nos Dominus monere, & instruere dignatur.* This miraculous Gift of Propheying in Babes, was not in the *Holy Child Jesus*, the *first*, and *only* begotten of the Father, whom all the Angels of God were commanded

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commanded to worship, when he was brought into the World. For he, as ^s St. Chrysostom observes, did no Miracle in his Childhood, no, not one before he was baptized, and sent. And therefore the Propheying, or Preaching of *Babes* and *young Children* among them, was to me, at first reading of it, a reasonable Ground of Suspicion, that the Spirit which wrought those, and so many other odd Feats among them (not to mention his being a Spirit of War, and Rebellion) was an *evil, deluding, vain Satanical Spirit*, and not the most *Wise, Benign, and Holy Spirit of God*.

In my Discourse, I have cited many ancient Authorities to confirm the Doctrines I have delivered in it concerning Miracles, and the miraculous Gifts and Operations of the Spirit, to which there never did, nor ever likely will want Pretenders in any Age of the Church. But, SIR, to them, which I have produced to shew, how much better and more desirable the *Moral* are, than the *miraculous* Gifts, which were common to bad, as well as good Men, and what little Reason there is to expect such *Manifestations of the Spirit* now: I say, to the Testimonies I have produced to this Purpose, there are some others to which I refer you, and such learned Readers, and which, perhaps, you may desire to consult: Such as these which follow in St. *Augustin*, ^h as where he writes a-

^s Hom. xvii. vel. xx. in Cap. i. Evang. Johan. Ἀλλὰ ὃ εἰδὲν ἐποίησε ταῦς αὐτῶν, &c. ^h Confessionum, lib. x.

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gainst the vain Curiosity of those who tempt God by desiring Miracles ; ⁱ That the Faithful are not to seek after Miracles ; ^k That Miracles do not make a Saint, which he proves by many Examples ; ^l that Christ bid his Disciples follow him, not in doing Miracles, but in Meekness, Humility, and Charity ; That Signs and Wonders, which were wrought to convert Infidels, are not necessary for Believers, but a firm Hope, and a Mind prepared to withstand Temptation ; ^m That it is Pride which makes Christians ambitious of Miracles ; and that to desire to do them, is to tempt the Lord our God ; and that the coveting the Power to do them, hath occasioned many to fall ; ⁿ That it doth no more belong to a good Christian to do Miracles, than to the Ear to see ; That a faithful Member of the Church who doth Miracles, and he that doth none, are both alike approved in the Sight of God, and that Miracles are apt to puff up the Workers of them, and make them proud ; ^o That the Gift of Tongues was necessary to preach the Gospel throughout the World, but that it is not to be expected, where it is preached and believed ; ^p That the Times of the Church, when Miracles were wrought, are not to be admired, and preferred before those, in which Miracles are ceased, because our Lord commended their Faith,

ⁱ De Consensu Evang. cap. x.

^k De Sermon. Dom. in Monte, lib. ii. Versus finem.

^l Exposit. Epist. ad Galat.

^m Enarrat. in Psal. xc.

ⁿ Enarrat. in Psal. cxxx.

^o Exposit. in Epist. Johan. tract. vi.

^p In Evang. Matth. Serm. xviii.

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and pronounced them blessed who believed, and had not seen.

St. *Chrysostom* shews, how Antichrist was to come with Signs and Wonders, ^q on *Matth.* xxiv. 26. and ^r on *2 Tim.* ii. 9. And you, SIR, know that some *Novatians* are reported to have wrought Miracles, as *Paulus*, one of their Bishops, and ^s *Eutychianus*, a Monk of that Sect, not to justify their Schism, as learned Men have observed, but to confirm the Faith against the *Arians*, which they professed with the Church. You also know, SIR, what stupendous Things ^t God suffered even the worst of Hereticks to work, as *Simon Magus*, *Menander*, *Marcus*, *Carpocrates*; and that the Fathers of the Church always ^u cautions the People against Prophets, and *Miracle-Workers*, from the Words of our Saviour, and the Apostles, who foretold that false Christs, and false Prophets should come; for which Reason they should not be forward to believe Signs, and Wonders, nor give Credit to those, who came working of them, for fear they should be *Satanical Signs, and Wonders*, to delude them, and make them believe a Lye.

^q Homil. in Cap. xxiv. *Matth.*

^r Homil. iv. in *2 Thes.* cap. ii. Orat. i. contra Judaizant.

^s *Socrat.* Hist. Eccles. lib. vii. cap. xvii.

^t *Sozom.* lib. i. cap. xiv.

^u *Tertul.* de Præscript. adversus Hæret. cap. xlv. *Irenæus*, lib. i. cap. viii. lib. ii. cap. lvii.

^w *Tertul.* adversus Marcion. lib. iii. c. iii. lib. v. c. 16. De Anima, cap. lvii. *August.* Lib. de Veritat. Eccles. cap. xix. lib. xiii. contra *Faustum*, cap. 5. Tract. xiv. in *Johan.* *Hieron.* in cap. i. ad *Galat.* in *Psal.* lxxxii. *Origen.* lib. ii. in *Celsum*.

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REVEREND SIR, for so now I call you, because I know you think the *Priesthood* it self a *great Dignity*, for the Relation it gives you to God, as *his Minister*, even a *greater Dignity*, than all the other modern Titles, by which to honour the Profession, and encourage the Study of Divinity, the *Canon Law*, and the *Schools* have distinguished Priests. You know the Office and Title of a *Priest* was thought so honourable in the Primitive Times, that the most noble of the Laity were desirous of it, when it was attended with all the Discouragements of Persecution: And so much *Reverence* you had for it, when a Youth in the College, and after your return from your Travels so strong an *Inclination* to it, that you chang'd your *Sword* for the *Gown*, and honour'd your *Military* with the *Sacerdotal* Title, when you had no Prospect but to serve God, as you did for some Years in a Cure of Souls, with a very little Revenue, which with much of your own you made great to the Poor; and I am confident you would then have taken *Holy Orders*, though the Church had been under a *Dioclesian*, or *Arian*, or *Marian*, or *Anti-Prelatical* Persecution, so pure were your Intentions in desiring the Priesthood, and so great your Zeal for the Service of God, and his Church.

SIR, it is long since I design'd to leave behind me a publick Testimony of my just Esteem for you, and of the many, and great Obligations I have received from you; and the

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the doing of it now without farther delay,
hath, like the paying of a long and growing
Debt, given great Ease and Satisfaction to the
Mind of

Your very Affectionate, and

most Obliged, Humble Servant,

GEORGE HICKES.

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	T H E

THE
Spirit of Enthusiasm
EXORCISED:
IN A
SERMON

Preached before the
UNIVERSITY of OXFORD,
On ACT-SUNDAY, July 11. 1680.

By GEORGE HICKES, D.D.

Printed at the Request of Mr. *Vice-Chancellor*,
and many others, who heard it Preached.

The Fourth Edition much Enlarged.

Diserti sunt multi inter illos, magnæ lingue, flumina linguarum, nunquid Angelicè loquuntur? ---omnia illa nihil iis prosunt, quia conscindunt unitatem -- Paulus loquitur, si sciam omnia sacramenta, &c. Nemo ergo vobis fabulas vendat, & Pontius fecit miraculum, & Donatus oravit, & Deus ei respondit de Cælo --- Crederem si non diviseret unitatem, nam & contra istos (ut sic loquar) mirabiliarios cautum me fecit Deus meus dicens, In novissimis temporibus --- Teneamus ergo unitatem fratres mei, præter unitatem, & qui facit miracula nihil est. --- Proinde fratres mei nemo vos fallat, nemo vos seducat, amate pacem Christi, &c. August. exp. in Evang. Johan. tract. 13.

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The fourth Edition much Enlarged.

To the Reverend
Dr. Timothy Halton,

Provost of *Queen's College*, and
Vice-Chancellor of the *University of Oxford*.

S I R,

THIS Discourse, which was so acceptable to You from the Pulpit, comes now in all Humility from the Press to offer it self to your further Acceptance, and Protection, and to the Perusal of all those Learned, and Orthodox Men, who desired me to Publish it, as containing some sober, and wholsom Doctrines, which they judged seasonable for the Age. I had a mind to satisfy my self in this Subject, and having by God's Blessing upon my Enquiries attained to satisfaction in them, I framed my Observations on purpose into a Sermon, to see if happily I could satisfy other Mens Reasons by the same Arguments by which I had convinced my own. And because the Spirits of the Prophets are subject to the Prophets, I chose to Preach it in that Audience, where are always so many competent and able Judges of Truth and Error; and what I said on that obscure Subject (as Chrysostom calls it) having been approved therein, I am encouraged to hope, that it will find the like Entertainment in other places, especially among all Ingenuous Spirits, who are wont to read with unprejudiced Minds. But lest any should think that the Scheme by which I go in this Discourse were an Hypothesis of my own inventing, I have confirmed the Passages in it, which I thought would be

B 2

most

THE EPISTLE DEDICATORY.

most surprizing, with good Authorities: because how plausible soever any Notions in Divinity may be, yet they may reasonably pass for suspected, unless they appear to be agreeable to the Sentiments of the Writers of the Catholick Church. To write all things consonantly to Catholick Antiquity is a safe and excellent Rule, and it is for adhering to it in her Doctrines and Discipline, that the Church of England, and Her Clergy, have been always persecuted by the pretended Catholicks on one hand, and Anti-Prelatical Sects on the other; and because under God the Universities are the Support of the Church, therefore have they been falsely decried for want of Learning by those, and want of Virtue and Religion by these; although they have been, and are as fruitful Seminaries of both, as any Schools, or Universities that are, or ever were in the World. And now having occasion to speak of the Universities, it would be real Injustice to Your Merits, not to let the World know how happy ours is in Your Government. I might justly speak great things of Your Severity in punishing of Vice, of the great Encouragement You give to Virtue and Learning, and of your Care and Vigilance both over your own College, and the University; particularly in giving life to the Publick Exercises in the Schools, of which You are in all Arts, and especially in your own Profession, so great a Judge. It is under such Governours as You, that the Muses will flourish in Oxford, and that true Learning, and sound Religion will always be taught therein. And therefore that there may never want a Succession of such Vice-Chancellors as You to govern that Famous University, nor of such Learned Masters and Scholars, as now adorn it, is the hearty Prayer of,

S I R,

Your most Humble Servant,

GEORGE HICKES.

THE.

T H E
Spirit of Enthusiasm
 E X O R C I S E D.

I C O R. XII. 4.

*Now there are diversities of Gifts, but
 the same Spirit.*

THE Discourse, which I intend to make upon this Verse, will oblige me to explain the most obscure, and difficult Passages of this Chapter; from the misunderstanding of which, and most other places of the Gospel, which speak of the *Spirit*, and *Spiritual Gifts*, Impostors on one hand, and Enthusiasts on the other have raised such absurd and exorbitant Doctrines, as are utterly inconsistent, not only with the Use and Authority of the Scriptures, but the Tradition of the Universal Church, the Orders of her Ministry, and the Study of Divinity; and by consequence render the Christian Religion, which consists of such sober and rational Doctrines, the most wild, uncertain, and unintelligible Institution that ever was in the World. But how groundless and unwarrantable the Enthusiastical Interpretations of this, and other like places of Scripture are,

will appear from the process of this Discourse, in which I intend to treat so particularly of the Gifts of the Spirit, as to leave out nothing, which may be said in such a short Discourse, to illustrate such an excellent Subject, the knowledge whereof is a most Sovereign Antidote against the Poyson of Enthusiasm, which is the Spiritual Drunkenness, or Lunacy of this Schismatical Age, and so distempers the Minds of Men of the other Communion with extravagant Phancies, as to make them more or less affect the extraordinary Gifts of the Spirit, and then conceit, like Poets in Religion, that they have them, and are really inspired.

Thus much I thought convenient to premise concerning the matter and design of this Discourse, in which I shall proceed according to this familiar Method. First I intend to speak of the several Kinds of Spiritual Gifts, and shew which sort is mentioned in my Text. Secondly, I shall treat of the Number and Variety of them, and explain the nature of each particular Gift. Thirdly, I shall discourse of the true Use of them, and shew the Reasons, why they were given by God to the Primitive Church, and not to the Churches of latter Times. And Lastly, I shall make some practical Improvement of the whole Discourse.

First then as to the Kinds of these Spiritual Gifts, I know my Text is often misapplied by way of accommodation to signify the natural, or acquired Gifts of Man's Mind, which in a Physical Sense indeed may be called Spiritual, because they transcend the Mechanical Powers of Matter, and proceed more or less from the Rational Soul, which is a Spiritual Substance, and as near a-kin in nature to the Father of Spirits as the Angels, his eldest Sons can be. Such Gifts and Endowments as these are *Memory, Fancy, Wit, Eloquence*, and all Organical Powers, which are commonly known by the name of *Natural Parts*, but more especially the pure intellectual

lectual Powers of *Apprehending* and *Judging*, *Comparing*, *Ordering*, and *Discoursing*, many, or all of both which kinds some happy Souls possess in such abundance, and perfection, as gives them, according to *Aristotle's* Observation, a natural kind of Superiority over their Companions, and fits them to govern, or instruct the World.

But then how much soever some Men may transcend others in their intellectual Capacities, and Improvements, we must not like the Poets, ascribe their extraordinary Gifts to an higher Principle, than the Nature of Man. For the tallest Trees are natural, as well as the lowest Shrubs; and giantick Souls, as well as Bodies, how prodigious soever their Stature may be, yet, like *Saul* among his Brethren, they are but Men, though worthy to be Princes, and differ as much from Persons gifted by Inspiration, as *Goliath* from *Samson*, *Praxiteles* and *Phidias* from *Bezaliel* and *Aholiab*, or well-studied *Linguists* from the *Apostles*, who were inspired with the Gift of Tongues.

Indeed all our Parts and Abilities are the Gifts of God, who is the original Author of our Nature, and by consequence of all that belongs thereunto; but the Gifts of which the Apostle speaks in this Chapter are wholly supernatural, and immediately proceed from the Spirit of God. Gifts that were given to advance Human Nature above it self, to raise all its Springs above their Fountain, and enable the Blessed Persons affected with them to speak, and write, and act such things, and in such a peculiar manner, as was impossible for Men not inspired to do.

These are the Gifts, or Graces, which the Apostle treats of in this Chapter, as may be proved from the first Verse, which is an Introduction to his whole Discourse. *Now Brethren* (saith he) *περὶ πνευματικῶν, concerning Spiritual Gifts I would not have you ignorant. Spiritual Gifts*, not so called from the Soul, or Spirit of Man, wherein they were as in

their Subject (for if this had been his Meaning, he must not have said πνευματικῶν, but νοεῶν, or ψυχικῶν) but the Author from whom they came τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον, *the Spirit of God*, whom our Saviour promised to send to his Disciples after he ascended into Heaven; which he first of all did on the Day of *Pentecost*, when the Holy Ghost came down upon them in a mighty rushing Wind to signify the plentiful Inspiration of the Spirit, and sat upon them all in the shape of fiery cloven Tongues, as so many visible Symbols of the most wonderful Act of Inspiration, which was the Gift of Tongues.

But then there being Two sorts of Spiritual Gifts, *common* and *special*, we must further proceed to enquire which kind of the Two is meant here.

By the common Gifts of the Spirit, I mean the Gifts of *Sanctification*, which all Christians are bound to pray for, and expect, and which are given by God indifferently to all those, who sincerely desire them, and labour after them, and which, as being sanctifying Graces, are necessary for the Salvation of the Soul.

By Special Gifts I understand the Gifts of *Edification*, which Men are not ordinarily bound to expect, and which, unless it be in some few circumstances, that seldom happen, would be Vanity and Presumption to beg of God, or expect from him, and which by consequence are not necessary for the Sanctification and Salvation of the Soul.

Of the former sort are all the sanctifying, and saving Gifts of the Spirit, called in the Schools, *gratia gratum facientes*, which the Spirit helps to work in Mens Hearts, as *Faith, Hope, Justice, Charity, Purity, Humility*, and *Devotion*, and all other gracious Dispositions and Habits of Mind, which God is pleased in a connatural way to work by his

* Πλέον ὃ πάντων τὸ τῆ γλώσσης ἦν παρ' αὐτοῖς χάρισμα.
Chrysost. Hom. 29. in 1 Ep. ad Cor. cap. 12.

Spirit, upon the right use of Means, in our Wills, or Understandings ; and which therefore the Apostle calls the Fruit of the Spirit, and wherein the Image of God, the Power of Godliness, and the Spirit of Christianity truly do consist.

Of the latter sort are all the Miraculous Unctions of the Holy Ghost, called by the Schoolmen, *gratie gratis data*, such as the *Gift of Tongues*, *Power of working Miracles*, *Signs and Wonders*, the *Spirit of Prophecy*, and the like, which are not necessary for the Church, but in certain cases of special exigence, and which, when they are necessary, are not given, like the other, jointly to all, but severally to some. Such wonderful Gifts and Graces were those, which *Elias* sent down with his Mantle upon *Elisha*, when he ascended into Heaven, thereby prefiguring the liberal effusion of the Spirit from Christ upon his Disciples after his Ascension ; for as the Apostle writes in the 4th Chapter of his Epistle to the *Ephesians*, *When he ascended up on high, and led Captivity* (that is, Satan, Sin, and Death) *captive, he gave in like manner Gifts unto Men.*

Both these sorts of Gifts agree in this, that they are supernatural, and freely given by God to Men, and therefore both of them are called *gratie* in the Vulgar Latin, and *Graces* in all the modern Tongues, though for distinction sake the former are commonly called *charities*, and the latter *charismata* by Divines. But though both proceed from the same Spirit, and spring from the same Fountain of *Grace*, yet, as I have already hinted, they differ in their *Nature*, *Extent*, and *Use*.

First in their *Nature*: for the former are nothing, but moral Virtues insensibly wrought in our Hearts by the assistance of the Holy Ghost, we our selves not resisting, but co-operating with him in his connatural, gentle, and secret Operations upon our Souls: And their proper effect is to sanctify our Nature, and make us like, and acceptable unto God.

God. But the latter are not of a moral nature, nor capable of moral consideration, as being either pure intellectual Habits, as the Gift of Tongues, discerning of Spirits, &c. or else bodily Virtues, and Powers, as the Power of Curing Diseases, &c. to which the affected Person contributed nothing himself, and by which though he were made a more eminent Man, or Minister, yet was he not made a ^a better Christian than he was before. Therefore they did not sanctify the Nature of the Person, on whom they were bestow'd, nor render him in the least more acceptable unto God, though they were (some of them more especially) often given to sanctified Persons, and so might declare, but not make a Man good. I say they were often, but not always given to sanctified Persons: for at ^b first the Holy Ghost fell upon all that were Baptized, and Confirmed; the Spirit of Prophecy was given to *Balaam*; the Power of working Signs and Wonders, and of casting out Devils was given to ^c *Judas*, as well as the rest of the Apostles; and therefore saith our Saviour, *Matth. vii. 23.* to this purpose, *Many will say unto me in that Day (that is, the Day of Judgment) ^d Lord! Lord! have we not prophesied in thy Name, and in thy Name have done many wonderful*

^a *Non omnes Christiani boni daemones ejiciunt, omnium tamen nomina scripta sunt in Cælo.* August in Psal. 130.

^b *Οἱ πνευματικὲς ἐν ἀρχῇ δὴ βαπτισθέντες πάντες τὸ πνεῦμα ἐλάβανον.* Theophyl. in 1 Cor. xii. 1. *Διάφορα πᾶσι τοῖς τότε βαπτιστομένοις ἐδίδεχον χαρίσματα ὁ Θεός, ἃ δὴ ὁ πνευματικὸς ἐκάλειτο.* Chrysost. in Epist. ad Rom. cap. 1. Hom. 14.

^c Hieronym. in cap. 7. *Matth. Multi mihi dicent, &c.* Tertul. adversus Praxeam. c. 1. *Quando & si corpus suum tradidit exurendum, nihil profecisset, dilectionem Dei non habens.*

^d *Si sciam (inquit) omnia Sacramenta — charitatem autem non habeam, nihil sum. Nemo ergo vobis fabulas vendat: & Pontius fecit miraculum, & Donatus oravit, & respondit Deus ei de Cælo—* Contra istos, ut sic loquar, mirabiliarios cautum me fecit Deus meus, dicens, *In novissimis temporibus, &c.* Aug. tract. 13. in Evang. Johan. *Multi mihi dicent in illo die, Domine, Domine, &c.* Cypr. de unit. Eccles.

Works ? and then will I profess unto you, I never knew you, depart from me ye Workers of Iniquity. From which place it is evident, that miraculous Gifts are so far from transforming the sinful Nature of Man, that if they do not find us, they cannot make us good, nor like a single Act of saving Faith and Repentance, give us a Title to the Kingdom of God.

Then as for their Extent, the latter are not useful for all Churches, nor for the same Church in all conditions and states ; and in the Churches where they were useful, they were, as it appears from Ecclesiastical History, commonly given to the Ministers more than the People, to Children not at all, and seldomer to Women, than to Men. But the saving Graces of the Spirit are equally useful for the Church in all conditions and states, and are given as much to the People as to their Ministers, and to Women and Children as much as to Men ; and they are never taken from those to whom they are once given, unless they neglect or abuse them, and grieve the good Spirit from whom they come.

Lastly, As for their Use, the Saving Gifts of Sanctification are given to Men for their own, but the Miraculous Gifts of Edification for the good of the Church. By Those we vanquish the Devil, and destroy his Kingdom of Sin within us ; by These the Apostles, and other inspired Persons, destroyed his Kingdom of Darknes in the Idolatrous World : By Those we glorify God within the Pale of the Church ; by These we publish his Almighty Power and Glory to those without. Lastly, Those make us precious in the eyes of God ; These make us glorious in the eyes of Men. Whereupon Gifted Persons, as it appears from the 4th Chapter of this Epistle, Verse 7. were often tempted by popular Admiration to pride themselves in their Gifts. For this reason it was, as the Apostle suggests in the 11th Verse, that God divided these Gifts to several inspired Men in several measures

measures and proportions, according as he knew their Capacities would bear. For such is the Infir- mity of Human Nature, that the best of Gifted Men were apt to ^a glorify Themselves more than God in their Gifts, and despise the Ungifted Mini- sters of the Church. For which reason there was *given a ^b Thorn in the Flesh* to this blessed Apostle himself, *and the Messenger of Satan to buffet him, lest he should be exalted above measure through the abun- dance of Revelations which he received.* And there- fore knowing, that these miraculous Graces were valuable no further, than as they were serviceable to the Church, he reprov'd the *Corinthians* in the last Verse of this, and the beginning of the next Chapter, for their immoderate ambitious desiring of them, exhorting them rather to covet, and pray earnestly for the saving Graces of the Spirit, as the more desirable Gifts.

From which comparifon, and likewise from the feveral separate distributions of these Gifts, of which he treats in this Chapter, it is most certain, that he understood by them not the general saving, but the special miraculous Gifts of the Holy Ghost; not the Gifts of Edification, but the Gifts of Sanctifica- tion. For as he speaks in the 8th and 9th Verses, to one was given one Gift, to another another, to a third a third; to every Man severally, to one greater, to another less, according as God in his Wisdom saw fit. Which cannot be truly said of the Saving Graces of the Spirit, because God must bestow them jointly, or not at all. God cannot give Humility

^a Vid. Chrysost. Hom. 29. in 1 Ep. ad Cor. c. 12.

^b *Ne extolleretur tanquam juvenis, colaphizabatur tanquam puer--*
—si ergo Apostolus potuit extolli magnitudine revelationum, nisi acci-
peret Angelum Satanae, qui se colaphizaret—vidit Dominus quod
tentaret eos superbia ex potentia miraculorum. August. in Psal. 130.
Μηδὲ ἰνδαλλέσθω ἡ ψυχὴ ἡμῶν ἐπὶ τῷ ἑαυτοῦ καλλέσθαι, καὶ ἐν-
δοξᾶς διεραῖς αὐτοῦ. Clem. ad Cor. 23.

to one, Purity or Chastness to another, and Charity alone to a third, because there is such an inseparable Union and Alliance among the Graces of the Spirit (as Philosophers have observed of Moral Virtues) that where one is really and sincerely, there all the rest must be. Which, as I conceive, is the reason why the Writers of the New Testament tell us, that the Love of God, which is the Foundation of all other Graces, is the fulfilling of the Law; and that he, who is subject but to one reigning Sin, and keepeth the whole Law except in one Point, is guilty of all. And for the same reason it is that they express the whole Body of Practical Divinity, sometimes by Faith, sometimes by Hope, sometimes by Repentance, and sometimes by Love, because the combination of these Saving Graces is such, that the mentioning of one implies all the rest.

But if this be not sufficient to prove, especially against Enthusiasts, that by Spiritual Gifts in this place the miraculous sort of them is to be understood, it will undeniably appear from considering the number and variety of them, of which I proposed to speak in the second place. *For there are Diversities of Gifts, but the same Spirit.*

A great Diversity indeed; for the Apostle here presents us with a List of Nine sorts. ^a *The Word of Wisdom; the Word of Knowledge; Faith; Gifts of Healing; Working of Miracles; Prophecy; Discerning of Spirits; divers kinds of Tongues; and the Interpretation of those Tongues.*

First, *The Word of Wisdom*, or the Revelation of the Gospel in all its Mysteries, and whole Oeconomy, which is called the Wisdom of God in Christ. For as the *Greeks* and *Romans* called the acquired Knowledge of secret and excellent things by the Name of *Philosophy*; so the *Jews* call'd it by the

^a Cosmus Indicopleust. l. v. p. 231.

Name of *Cochmah*, or *Wisdom*, which so often occurs in *Solomon's Works*. And therefore *St. Paul* in his *Hellenistical Style*, which consisted in writing of *Hebraisms* or *Syriacisms* in *Greek*, emphatically calls the Knowledge of ^a Evangelical Doctrines, and Mysteries, by the Name of *Wisdom*, and distinguisheth it from the *Wisdom*, i. e. from the Philosophy of the World, in the 2^d Chapter of this Epistle, 6 and 7 Verses : ^b *Howbeit, saith he, we speak Wisdom, yet not the Wisdom of this World, but the Wisdom of God in a Mystery, even the hidden Wisdom, the Revelation of which God ordain'd before the World was unto our Glory*; that is, unto the Glory of us the Apostles, who were the first Discoverers thereof to the World. This Divine, not Worldly Human Wisdom, which neither the *Rabbies* among the *Jews*, nor the Philosophers among the *Gentiles*, understood, was reveal'd first to the Apostles; to the *Eleven* chiefly by *Christ* himself the Head of the *Christian Church* or *Sect*, from whom we are called *Christians*. I say, this Divine Wisdom or Philosophy was revealed, at least the chief, and greatest part of it, to the *Eleven* chiefly by *Christ* himself, who conversed with them forty Days successively after his Resurrection, when he taught them the Mysteries of the Gospel, and gave them Orders and Commandments about the preaching of it to the very time of his Assumption, as also concerning the Church which was to be planted,

^a Λόγον Σοφίας, ἢ τὴν εὐαγγελίαν, &c. *Sermonem Sapientiae vocat non Eloquentiam, sed veram doctrinam, cujus ipse etiam Divinus Apostolus gratiam acceperat, & Divus Johannes Evangelista, & Divus Petrus Apostolorum summus. Neque enim potuissent homines piscatores, & manu sibi victum parantes, & literarum plane ignari, Conciones habere, & scribere, & quae docebant, & scriptis mandabant, virtute maximâ implere, nisi a Divino Spiritu veram sapientiam accepissent.* Theodoret in 1 Epist. ad Corinth. cap. 12. Δοξάζω Ἰησοῦν Χριστὸν τὸ Θεὸν ἕως ἡμῶν Σοφισάντα. Ignat. ad Smyrn.

^b Clemens Alexandr. Strom. lib. v. p. 586.

and governed by them, as ^a St. *Luke* assures us, who said, that he shewed himself to them for forty Days together after his Resurrection, telling them all the while of the things, *which pertained to the Kingdom of God*. But though these things were delivered to the Eleven immediately by Christ himself, yet the other Apostles came to the knowledge of them otherways; *Matthias* perhaps by Instruction from the Eleven, but St. *Paul* and *Barnabas* chiefly by Inspiration, or other Revelations of the Holy Ghost, who supplied the place of *Christ*. By one or the other, these things were made known to the Apostles, that they might make them known to the World. To them it was that Christ, or his Spirit, gave the first, and most perfect Understanding, and Discovery of the Mystery of God, that is, of the Divine Mystery contained in the Gospel, both of the Father, and of Christ: Of the Father, as the Principle and Original who sent; and of Christ, who came to undertake the Work of our Redemption, and in whom, as our ^b Apostle speaks, *all the Treasures of Wisdom, and Knowledge are hid*. In him they were hidden, and wrapt up before they were unfolded by the Apostles, as, not to mention others, by St. *Peter* to the *Jews*, and by St. *Paul* to the *Gentiles* of the *οἰκουμένη*, or *Roman Empire*, to whom, when our Lord left the World, he sent his Spirit as his *Vicar*, or Vicegerent to comfort, and assist them in his absence; to teach them all things in the Old Testament, that belonged to the New; to lead them into all Truth; to shew them things to come; to bring to their remembrance whatsoever he had formerly taught them; and to bear witness to the Truth of their Doctrine by his Works. Therefore the first, and most principal Gift of the Spirit was this ΔΟΓΜΑΤΟΣ ΣΟΦΙΑΣ, the Revelation of the Gospel, or the Discovery of those excellent Doctrines, by

^a *Acts* i. 3.

^b *Col.* ii. 3.

which Christianity is distinguished from all the *Seets*, and Christians from all the *Societies* of the World ; I say of those excellent Doctrines relating to every Person of the H. Trinity in the mighty Work of our Redemption, and so distinguished in the New Testament from the *vain, deceitful Philosophy*, and Tradition of Men *after the Rudiments of the World* ; in a word, of those excellent Doctrines, the Knowledge and Belief whereof is essential on our parts to the new, and better Covenant, which God hath made betwixt himself, and Man. This *Word*, or Gift of *Wisdom* chiefly consisted in the Revelation of these admirable Doctrines, which in the Phrase of St.^a *Ignatius* are all Mysteries : *Μυστήρια κρυφών*, *Mysteria clamoris* ; Mysteries worthy to be proclaimed, and divulged, as they were, through the World, by the Preachers of the Gospel ; and Mysteries, as he saith of three of them, which were secretly transacted by the Father, as St. *Paul* saith of all the rest : *According to the Revelation of the Mystery of the Gospel, which was kept secret in all Ages since the World began, but now is made manifest to all Nations for the Obedience of Faith.* These Mysteries are contained at large in the Gospel, and summarily in the Christian Creed, of which St. *Ignatius* recites some Articles in the Epistle to the *Ephesians* ; as, the Eternal Generation of the Son of God ; his Conception in the Womb of *Mary* of the Seed of *David*, and the Holy Ghost ; his Baptism by *John* his Forerunner, that he might receive his Father's Testimony from Heaven ; the Virginity of his Mother *Mary*, and his being born of her, and his meritorious Death, to which I may add his Resurrection, of which that Apostolick Father speaks in several places of his Epistles. I say the *Word of Wisdom* consisted in the Knowledge of these, and other Gospel-Doctrines ; the supernatural Knowledge of which, and of the

* Epist. ad Ephes. xix.

whole Counsel of God in the Redemption of the World was first given to the Apostles by Christ himself, or by the Inspiration of the Holy Ghost, and preached by them to the *Jewish*, and *Gentile* World: Given, I say, in the first place to the Apostles; for as we read of *διαφοραί χαρισμάτων*, *Diversities of Gifts* in my Text; so in the next Verse to it we read of *διαφοραί διακονιών*, *Differences of Administrations*; that is, of Ministeries, or Ministers; of Ministers, of whom the Apostles were chief. For this reason some Learned Men render *ὅτι ἡ πνευματικῶν*, *concerning spiritual or inspired Persons*; and so the whole Verse must be in our Language thus: *Now concerning spiritual Persons, Brethren, I would not have you ignorant.* And therefore it is observable, that as the Apostle hath put the *Word of Wisdom*, this revealed Understanding of the Gospel, and its whole Dispensation, in the front of the Catalogue of Gifts; so in the List of *spiritual Persons*, or inspired Ministers, which answers to it in the 28th Verse, he hath put the *Apostles* first. The calling of the *Gentiles* out of every Nation, or the Catholick Extent of the Christian Church, which was one Mystery of the Gospel Oeconomy, was first revealed to ^a St. Peter by this Word of Wisdom in a Vision: And so the Revelation of the gracious Reason, why God delayed the Destruction of the *Jews*, according to our Lord's Prediction, is call'd Wisdom by that Apostle, 2 Epist. iii. 15. where he saith to the *Jews* of the Dispersion, *Account that the Long-suffering of our Lord is for the Salvation, and Deliverance of the Jews, even as our beloved Brother Paul* also, according to the Wisdom given unto him, hath ^b written unto you. But though this miraculous Gift of *Wisdom* was first given to the ^c Apostles, yet it was not confin'd to them, but given also to

^a Acts x.^b Rom. ii 11. Hebr. vi. 12, 15. ix. 28. x. 23, 35.^c Clem. Alex. Strom. lib. v. p. 586, 645.

other Disciples in several measures, as they could bear them, and as the Service of the Church required. So we find it in this Chapter among the Diversities of Gifts which were in the Church of *Corinth*; and *St. Stephen*, who was full of the Gifts of the H. Ghost, had this Gift of Wisdom among the rest. For when the Learned *Jews* from several Parts and Synagogues of the Dispersion disputed with him at *Hierusalem*, it is said, that *they were not able to resist the Wisdom, and Spirit, by which he spake.*

From whence I pass to the *Word of Knowledge*, which consisted chiefly in understanding, and teaching the hidden Sense, and Mysteries of the Old Testament relating to Christ, and the Evangelical State; more particularly in understanding the Types, Allegories, and Prophecies, and the typical, allegorical, and prophetical Passages of it, and in a Skill to interpret them, and shew how they were perfected, and fulfilled in the Gospel, to convert the *Jews*, and *Jewish* Profelytes more especially, or to confirm the converted among them in the Faith. This Gift of Understanding the Scriptures of the Old Testament, and of teaching them, and applying them in their true Spiritual Sense to Christ, and the Christian State, was one of the most noble of the prophetical Gifts; and therefore *Prophets*, which holds the second place in the List of inspired Ministers, exactly answers to the Word of Knowledge in the Catalogue of Gifts.

This Gift, as I just now observed, was in most special manner requisite for the Conversion of the *Jews*, and *Jewish* Profelytes, who were apt to suspect all Miracles, which they thought contrary to the Law, and the Prophets; and therefore when they accused *St. Stephen* for having said, that *Jesus of Nazareth* should destroy the Temple, and change the Customs, which *Moses* had delivered, he went to prove it by the Word of Knowledge, as *St. Peter* had done before from the Completion of the *xviiith* Chapter of

Deuteronomy, where it is written, *The Lord thy God shall raise up unto thee a Prophet of thy Brethren like unto me, unto him shall ye hearken.*-- And I will raise them up a Prophet among their Brethren, like unto Thee, and he shall speak unto them all that I command them; and whosoever shall not hearken unto my Words which he shall speak in my Name, I will require it of him. It was in this Gift, he told the *Corinthians*, he thought himself equal to the best of the Apostles, when they forced him by contemning of him for want of Eloquence, to boast of himself a little: *I suppose, saith he, I was not a whit behind the very chiefest Apostles; for tho' I be rude in Speech, in which I acknowledge I am not so excellent as others; yet I am not so in Knowledge, but as to my Abilities in that Gift, I have been thoroughly made manifest unto you in all things.* According to this Gift of Knowledge, or Understanding of the Scriptures, which he had from the Spirit, he applied them to *Jesus*, as the *Christ*, in all his Epistles, more or less, except in that to *Philemon*, and more especially in that to the *Hebrews* and *Galatians*, and particularly in the iii^d and ivth Chapters of the latter Epistle. It was in the Power of this Gift, which he had as a Prophet, that he expounded, and testified the Kingdom of God to the Jews at Rome, persuading them concerning *Jesus* both out of the Law, and out of the Prophets, from Morning until Evening. It was also by this spiritual Gift, the Word of Knowledge, by which St. Peter was enabled on the Day of Pentecost to explain the Prophecy of *Joel*, and apply three of the Psalms to *Jesus*, as *Christ*, and many more Scriptures on other Occasions, when he reasoned with the Jews. Lastly, by the fulness of this Prophetical Gift, *Christ* himself, ^a who had not the Spirit by measure, frequently open'd the Scriptures to the Jews, more particularly, once beginning at *Moses*, he went on to the Prophets, and expounded to two of his Disciples in their way to Em-

^a *John* iii. 34. *Isaiah* xi. 2.

maus, in all the Scriptures the things which belonged to himself. To this Gift is originally owing, not only the Interpretation of so many Typical, and Prophe- tical, and other Mystical Scriptures of the Old Te- stament in the New, wherethey are applied to *Christ*, and the *Christian* Oeconomy ; but of many more ap- plied in like manner by the antient Christian Wri- ters, which tho' not found in the Writings of the New Testament, had been so explained, and ap- plied by inspired Men in the times of Inspiration, and transmitted to them in Age after Age, and Wri- ter after Writer, for the benefit of the Church. Of this sort, we may presume, are the Expositions of so many Mystical Texts of the Old Testament in the antient Fathers, particularly in the Epistle of St. *Barnabas* the Apostle, which doth almost wholly consist of them, and in the 1st Epistle of St. *Clement*, Fellow- Labourer with the Apostles ; as that of the ^a Ark, and ^b Lot's Wife, and of the ^c Scarlet Rope or Line, which *Rahab* bound for a Sign in the Window of her House ; with many more of the same nature in *Justin Martyr*, *Clemens Alexandrinus*, *Tertullian*, *Ori- gen*, *Cyprian*, and *Novatian* in his Book of the Tri- nity, as that of the Prophecy of *Jacob* about the com- ing of *Shiloh*, and his washing his Garments in Wine, and his Clothes in the Blood of the Grapes ; with many others of the like nature, not mentioned in the New Testament, as that of *Noah's* Ark mentioned above, which they always interpreted as a ^d Type of the Church. In like manner that of the Bread, and Wine, brought forth by *Melchisedech*, which ^e they expounded as a Type of the Offering of the Bread, and Wine in the Holy Eucharist. Likewise that of *Psal. xlv. V. 16.* which in the Mystical Sense they always expounded of the Church, and her Bishops : *Instead of thy Fathers thou shalt have Children, whom*

^a §. ix.^b §. xi.^c §. xii.^d Hieronymus adversus Lucifer. *Arca Noe ecclesiae typus fuit.*^e Tertull. Justin Mar. Clemens Alex.

thou mayest make Princes in all the Earth. Indeed they applied almost the whole Book of *Psalms*, in the Mystagogical Sense, to *Christ*, and his Church, according to that of *Tert. advers. Prax. Omnes pene Psalmi Christi personam sustinent, &c.* as may be seen in the Commentaries of *St. Athanasius* and *Eusebius Casariensis* upon the *Psalms*, whereof the former were lately published by the Learned *Benedictins*, and the latter chiefly by the Learned *Mountfaucon*. But more particularly they apply the whole *xlvth Psalm* to *Christ*, as well as the *6th Verse*, which the Apostle applies to him, *Hebr. i. 8.* which perhaps gave occasion to so many of the ^a Fathers to apply the first Verse of it to the *Essential Word* of God, as *Eusebius*, who expounds the rest of that Psalm of *Christ*, observes in his Commentary on the Place. More especially the Tracts of the antient Fathers against the *Jews* are full of such Expositions, and Applications of the Scriptures of the Old Testament, as may be seen in *Justin's* Dialogue with *Trypho*, and in *Tertullian's* and *Cyprian's* Treatises against the *Jews*, which we have reason to believe were the received Senses that the Catholick Church had of those Texts in their Times, and came, at least for the most part of them, by Tradition from that Age, when this Gift was common in the Church. Such as these were that Text in particular *Gen. xlix. 10. The Scepter shall not depart from Judah, nor a Lawgiver from between his Feet, till Shiloh come.* This I observe for the sake of some late Latitudinarian Criticks ^b of another Country, who contrary to the Consent and Tradition of the Church in the unanimous Exposition of the antient Writers, reject this Text as an Argument against the *Jews*, because it is not produced against them by *Christ* himself, or any of the Apostles, in the Writings of the New Testament. Of this sort also are many Texts cited by the

^a Novatian, *Tertullian adv. Praxeam.* *Cyprian adv. Judeos,* *Alexand. Episcop. Alexandriae in depositione Arii,* *Athanasius in Orat. contra Gentes, & Psalm. xlv. 1.* ^b Mr. Limburg, &c.

^a Fathers against the old Hereticks, in defence of the H. Trinity, and the Deity of our Lord; particularly those in *Gen. i. 26. Let Us make Man in our own Image.* And Chap. iii. 22. *And the Lord God said, behold Man is become, as one of us.*

I do not doubt also but that the *Word of Knowledge* comprehended in it the inspired Understanding of the Mystical Passages concerning *Christ*, and the State of the Gospel, which were in other Books received among the *Jews*, besides those of their Canonical Scriptures. Such were they which were lost in the Captivity, I mean the ^b Books of *Solomon*, whose Wisdom exceeded the Wisdom of the *Arabians*, and *Egyptians*, and other *Hebrews*, and who wrote 3000 Proverbs, as a Philosopher, a thousand and five Verses, as a Poet, and as a Physiologist, several Books of Natural History of all sorts of Animals, and Plants. Such also were the many historical Books mentioned in the Old Testament. And from the New it is evident, that they had many Writings and Talmudical Traditions besides the Law, and the Prophets; as those out of which *St. Paul* had the Names of the Magicians, *Jannes* and *Jambres*, who withstood *Moses* with Diabolical lying Miracles, and those out of which *St. Stephen* was instructed, that *Moses* was learn'd in all the Wisdom of the *Egyptians*, and that he was 40 Years of Age, when he visited his Brethren, and had beforehand a Revelation from God, that he should be their Deliverer. Out of the same Book likely it was, that *St. Paul* tells us, that the Scene of Fire, and Darknes, and Blacknes, and Tempest, upon the Mountain, was so terrible to *Moses*, that it made him quake. Hither may we also refer the Book in which were recorded the *Fall of the Angels, who kept not their first Station*, for which they were cast down to Hell, and reserved in Chains of ever-

^a Tertul. adversus Praxeam. Athanasius passim.

^b 1 Kings iv. 31, &c.

lasting Darkness unto the Judgment of the Great Day. The Book also from whence St. *Jude* tells us, that *Michael* the Archangel contended with the Devil about the Body of *Moses*; and the ^a Prophecy of *Enoch*, out of which he citeth these Words: *Behold the Lord cometh with ten thousand of his Saints.* In these, and such like Apocryphal Writings of the Jewish Church there were no doubt many Traditions and Passages relating to the *Messias*, and the State of the Church under him: Such as are the Description of Wisdom, in *Ecclesiasticus*, applied by the antient Christian Writers, as well as that in the *Proverbs*, to Christ, the essential Wisdom of God. That wonderful Description of the calling of the *Gentiles*, and of the Son of God, and his Kingdom, from the 44th Verse of the xith Chapter of the 2^d Book of *Esdras*, to the End of the Chapter. Of this nature are several Passages in the Writings of *Philo* the Jew about the essential ΑΟΓΟΣ of the Father, the ΑΟΓΟΣ-High-Priest, and of his Archetypal, and eternal Priesthood. Hither I might refer several Passages out of the *Chaldee* Paraphrases of the Law, and Prophets, written by two Jewish Doctors, and several others out of the *Talmudical* Writers which Learned Men have publish'd: And tho' we should grant that the former as well as the latter, are of a later date than Christianity, yet we need not doubt, but that there were many applicable Passages of the like nature in the Jewish Writings before the time of *Christ*; the meaning of which were revealed by his Spirit in the *Word of Knowledge*, so common in those times of Inspiration, and applied to him, as well as those in the Old Testament, for the more effectual convincing of the *Jews*.

Having spoken of the two spiritual Gifts of Wisdom, and Knowledge, I must observe, that there was such a strict Alliance and Connexion between them, that the original Words are often found together, as

^a Of the Book of *Enoch* see *Drusius* in his CI, and CII Epist. printed apud *Egidium Radæum* M.D.XC.V.

if he who had the one, could not be without the other. Thus in *Proverbs* ii. 6. Ὁ κύριος δίδωσι Σοφίαν, καὶ ἐκ τοῦ στόματος αὐτοῦ ἐκπορεύεται γνῶσις. *The Lord giveth Wisdom, and out of his Mouth is Knowledge.* So in that Text as quoted by ^a *Clemens Alexandrinus*, and afterward ^b applied by him to our Lord. Ὁ Θεὸς δέδιδάχεν με Σοφίαν, καὶ γνῶσιν ἀγίων ἑσθίων. *God hath taught me Wisdom, and I have the Knowledge of holy things.* So together with the Spirit of Wisdom in our Saviour, and other Spiritual Gifts, is joined the Spirit of Knowledge in the Prophetical Description of him, *Isah.* xi. 2, 3. *There shall come a Rod out of the Stem of Jesse, and a Branch shall grow out of his Roots, and the Spirit of the Lord shall rest upon him, πνεῦμα σοφίας, the Spirit of Wisdom, καὶ πνεῦμα γνώσεως, and the Spirit of Knowledge.* Nay, these two Gifts were so commonly connected and found together in the same Subject, that the Original Words sometimes seem to be put for one another, as if they signified, not so much different Gifts, as different Respects, and Conceptions of the same Gift; or if different Gifts, yet such as commonly went together, and one of which usually implied the other. Thus the Gift of understanding the secret, and mystical Sense of the Scriptures in the New Testament, is called *Wisdom* by St. John, *Revel.* xiii. 18. ὧδε ἡ σοφία ἐστίν, *Here is Wisdom, let him that hath Understanding count the Number of the Beast.* So in *Ch.* xvii. 19. the Angel going about to explain the meaning of the Seven Heads of the Scarlet-coloured Beast, *Here, saith he, is the Mind that hath Wisdom,* or here is the Meaning of the Vision according to Wisdom, the Seven Heads are Seven Mountains on which the Woman sitteth, and they are Seven [Emperours or] Kings. So in this sense of *Wisdom*, for the Gift of Knowledge, ^c *Origen* in answer to *Celsus* saith, *But he who is a-*

^a Strom. lib. ii. p. 394.

^b Strom. lib. v. p. 582.

^c Just. Mart. dialog. cum Tryphone, p. 314.

^d Lib. I. p. 33. & Pamphili Apol. pro Orig.

dorned with the Gift, which we call the Word of Wisdom, can declare the reason why the Heavens were opened unto Jesus, and why the Spirit appeared in the likeness of a Dove, and of no other living Creature, of which I am not now to give an account. But as St. John here supposes, that Wisdom was requisite to understand the Sense of Mystical Numbers in Scripture; so ^a St. Barnabas, agreeably to my Exposition, calls it the Gift of Knowledge, which he saith Abraham had, because he understood the Mystery of I. H. T. which denoted Three Hundred and Eighteen, the number of Men, whom he circumcised in his House. ^εΩδὴ ἡ Σοφία, here is Wisdom, saith St. John; and ^εΤὸ ἐν ἡ δόδεκα αὐτῶν γινώσις, what therefore was the Knowledge given to Abraham, saith St. Barnabas? I'll tell you, saith he, first learn the Mystery of Eighteen, and then of Three Hundred. The numeral Letters of Ten and Eight are I. H. which denote Jesus, and the Note of Three Hundred is T. wherefore by two Letters he signified Jesus, and by one his Cross. So upon the account of the near Alliance and Conjunction between these two Gifts, ^b Clemens Alex. saith, Σοφία ἐν αὐ γινώσις, Knowledge is Wisdom, as being the constant and firm Science and Comprehension of things present, future, and past. A little after which Passage he also saith, Therefore let us exercise ^c Knowledge, or Wisdom, into an everlasting and unchangeable Habit of Contemplation. This he said, speaking of some particular Mysteries, which Christ revealed in Person to some ^d few of the Apostles, that they might impart them to others. These few were ^e Peter, James, and John, who were Witnesses of his Transfiguration, and Partakers of the Mysteries then revealed, and St. Paul who was caught up into the Third Heavens, where he

^a Epist. Ch. 19. See Cotelerius, and Dr. Bernard on the place.

^b Strom. lib. v. p. 645.

^c Γινώσις ἐν τῇ Σοφίᾳ.

^d Strom. lib. vi. p. 648.

^e Euseb. Hist. Eccl. lib. ii. cap. 2.

had abundance of particular Revelations, by which he was in danger of being exalted above measure, and heard unspeakable Words.

Thus much I have said to shew the near Alliance between those two Spiritual Gifts, *Wisdom* and *Knowledge*, in order to explain the latter, which, I think, is here to be understood of inspired Knowledge, or Understanding, with an ability of instructing of others out of the *Jewish* Scriptures and Traditions in the Mystery of the Christian Religion, which the *πνευματικοὶ* or *Spiritual Ministers* attained by inspiration from the H. Ghost. Thus, as I have already observed, our Lord, who was the great Prophet, or Teacher, and Instructor sent from God, had the Spirit of Knowledge with the Spirit of Wisdom: And indeed the Spirit of Wisdom to understand the Gospel and its Doctrines, would have been of little use to the Church without the Spirit of Knowledge to prove, and preach them out of the Scriptures, as *St. Peter* did on the Day of *Pentecost*, and in the Temple after healing the lame Man, and as *Stephen* did at the Tribunal of the *Sanhedrin*, and *St. Paul* in the Synagogues of the dispersed *Jews* at ^a *Ephesus*, at ^b *Antioch* of *Syria*, and *Antioch* of *Pisidia*, and to the chief of the *Jews* in his ^c Lodging at *Rome*. God gave him this Gift immediately upon his Conversion, *Acts* ix. 20, 22. And it is joined to the Gift of understanding them in *Eph.* i. 17. praying, saith the Apostle unto the Saints at *Ephesus*, that the God of our Lord Jesus Christ, the Father of Glory, may give unto you the Spirit of Wisdom, and Revelation for the farther Knowledge of Jesus Christ. This Gift of teaching, interpreting, and instructing out of the Scriptures, was common in the Churches, when the Apostle wrote his Epistles, and the edifying Men, who were inspired with it, were called in the *Hebrew* Sense of the Word *Pro-*

^a *Acts* xix.

^b ix. 19. xiii. 46.

^c xxviii.

phets, as in *Acts* xiii. 1. *There were in the Church of Antioch certain Prophets, and Teachers, as Barnabas and Simeon: And so in this Chapter, God, saith the Apostle, hath set some in the Church, first Apostles, who were all Prophets, secondly Prophets, or inspired Teachers, who were not Apostles. And therefore, as ^a Justin Martyr saith, that Solomon had the Spirit of Wisdom, Daniel of Understanding, and Counsel, Moses the Spirit of Might; so he saith, the Prophet Isaiah had the Spirit of Knowledge, because, as I suppose, he was the Evangelical Prophet, who understood the Gospel-Mysteries by Inspiration, and spake, and wrote them as he was moved by the Holy Ghost. Such like Prophets were the Teachers and Preachers under the New Testament, who understood, and expounded the Scriptures of the Old Testament, and other Jewish Traditions, which related to Christ, by Divine Inspiration, here called the Word of Knowledge; and therefore I must observe again, that Prophets, which hold the second place in the List of Ministers, exactly answer to the Word of Knowledge in the Catalogue of spiritual Gifts. In this Sense of the Word for inspired Teachers, or Preachers, the Apostle saith in the xivth Chapter, *He that prophesyeth speaketh unto Men for Edification, and let the Prophets speak two, or three, i. e. in order at one time, and let the others judge; for ye may all prophesy one by one, that all may learn, and be comforted.* And in this Chapter also, speaking and prophesying by the Spirit signifieth teaching, and preaching. So in the 4th Verse of the xith Chapter, saith he, *Every Man praying, or prophesying, i. e. praying, or preaching, with his Head covered, dishonoureth his Head.* Accordingly *Nebia*, the Hebrew Word for Prophet is often rendred in the *Chaldee* Translations by *Saphra*, or *Meturgeman*, Teacher or Interpreter. In which sense the Teachers, or Preachers*

^a Dialog. cum Tryphone, p. 314.

of the Church of *Corinth*, who were inspired with the Skill, or Knowledge of instructing and edifying others out of the Scriptures, were very properly called *Prophets*, who publickly expounded the Mysteries of the Gospel out of *Moses* and the Prophets, and other *Jewish* Writings in which they were wrapt up. This Gift of understanding and opening the Scriptures included the Gift of arguing also, and *dialectically* proving from them, when it was needful, that *Jesus* was the *Christ*, and that *as Christ*, it behoved him to suffer, and to rise again the third Day, and that Repentance and Remission of Sins should be preached in his Name among all Nations, as well as among the *Jews*. This *dialectical* Gift or inspired Skill of discoursing, or disputing, which is also comprehended under the Word of Knowledge, was exercised very early by our Saviour, who, as a Prophet, had the Spirit of Knowledge with the Spirit of Wisdom, which he had as his Father's Apostle. For at twelve Years of Age he was found in the Temple among the Doctors, disputing with them in that, which the *Greeks* call the *SOCRATIC* way, hearing them, and asking them Questions. So when the *Pharisees* had granted out of the Scriptures, that *Christ* must be the Son of *David*, he then asked them, *How then doth David in Spirit call him Lord?—If David call him Lord, how is he his Son?* To this Question, saith the Evangelist, no Man was able to answer him a word, neither durst any Man from that day forth ask him any more Questions. In this way of asking and answering Questions he silenced them by a Question about the Baptism of *John*, when they asked him by what Authority he acted? And another time he evaded a captious, and ensnaring Question about paying Tribute to *Cæsar*, by asking them whose Image and Superscription was stamp't upon the Tribute-money, which having on the Front, and Reverse, all the Titles of *Cæsar*, he said unto them, *Render therefore*

unto Cæsar the things, which [you see] belong unto Cæsar, and unto God the things that are God's. St. Stephen also being full of the Spirit of Knowledge, and of the Power of the Holy Ghost, disputed in this dialectical manner with the Jewish Doctors, who were come from all Parts to Hierusalem, and the Text tells us, that with all their acquired Learning they were *not able to resist the Wisdom*, to which was also annexed the Word of Knowledge, *with which he spake*. Thus St. Paul at his first going to Hierusalem after his Conversion spake boldly in the Name of the Lord Jesus, disputing with the Hellenistical Jews, who went about to slay him, out of the Scriptures. So we read that he disputed with the Jews in their Synagogue at Athens, and in the Forum or Piatza of that most learned City, with those who met him both Jews and Greeks. So he disputed boldly in the Jewish Synagogue at Ephesus for the space of three Months, pressing and persuading the things concerning the Kingdom of God; and when divers were hardned, and would not believe, he departed from them, and disputed daily in the School of one Tyrannus. So another time, in the Synagogue at Ephesus, he reasoned with the Jews three Sabbath-days out of the Scriptures. So at Corinth he reasoned every Sabbath-day in the Jewish Synagogue, and when he was driven from thence to Ephesus, he reasoned after the same manner with the Jews there. He indeed was bred in the School of Gamaliel, where he undoubtedly learned the dialectical way of reasoning by Questions and Answers, which was in practice in the Jewish and Gentile Schools. But as he had the *παρρησία*, or Spirit of Boldness with which he disputed, so I think it may be asserted with reason, that in part and degree he had the Skill of disputing too by Inspiration, from whence the other Apostles, who were not bred in the Schools, had it altogether, and in whole. The Original Words συζητεῖν and διαλέγεσθαι, which we render to

dispute

dispute and reason together^a, consisted in Colloquy, Dialogue, or Sermocination, in mutual Questions, and Answers ; which was much in request, as well as in use, both among *Jews* and *Greeks*, as appears from the Words of the Apostle : *Where is the Wise, or Philosopher ? Where is the learned Scribe ? Where is the skilful Disputer of this World ? Hath not God by our inspired Wisdom, and Philosophy, and our inspired Learning, and Skill to argue and dispute out of the Scriptures, made foolish the Wisdom and Philosophy of this World ?* It could not but surprize both *Jews* and *Greeks* to see, and hear this Manifestation of the Spirit of Knowledge in *dialectical* Discourses of the Kingdom of God. It must needs astonish them to hear Men, who had not been bred in the Schools, equal, if not exceed in reasoning the best of the Rabbies among the *Jews*, and the Philosophers among the *Gentiles*. It must needs silence, when it did not convert them, to hear the foolish things of this World, out-arguing, and puzzling the Wise ; and base, and despised things, that, as they thought, were of no ability, or reputation, to bring to nought things that were mighty in their esteem, and to hear them argue, not in the Words, or Reasons, which Man's Wisdom teacheth, but which the Holy Ghost teacheth, ^b not in a Human, but Divine manner, adapting and accommodating spiritual Words, and Passages of the Old Testament to spiritual Things under the New. Indeed among other sorts of prophesying, or teaching, which were in the Church of *Corinth*, this of Sermocination, or Reasoning, is not mentioned ; but since they had so many other Gifts in common with the Apostles, if they had not this, it was because there was then no occasion for it ; for they had other Gifts in such abundance, as the ^c Apostle tells

^a Budæi Comm. linguæ Gr. p. 255.

^b 1 Cor. ii. 13.

^c 1 Cor. iv.

them, that they were puffed up with them to such a Degree, as to think the Apostles as it were Fools, and weak, and despicable in comparifon of themselves.

From whence I proceed to the Third Gift, which is called *Faith*, by which you are not to understand *πίστις Δογματων*, as ^a *Chrysostom* calls justifying, or saving Faith, (for that was a common Gift to which all Christians had an equal Title and Claim) but *πίστις Σημείων*, the Faith of Miracles emphatically so called, of which the Apostle is to be understood, ^b where he saith, *Though I have all Faith, so that I could remove Mountains, and have no Charity, I am nothing.* This Faith consisted in a supernatural Confidence, and Assurance, wrought by the Spirit in the Soul of a Man, by which he was sure he could do such or such Miracles, before he attempted to do them. Thus it is written of the first Martyr, *St. Stephen*, Acts vi. 8. *That being full of Faith, and Power, he did great Wonders, and Miracles among the People.* By this supernatural Confidence, and Assurance it was, that Men knew, as by a Sign, when they could work Wonders, and when not; and the greatest Operator, whether Prophet, or Apostle, durst never undertake to do a Miracle, but when he was assured by the Spirit he could do it. And indeed it was requisite for God by some secret preceding Impression to let the *Διδασκάλους*, or Teachers of the Gospel know, when he would assist them, lest they should attempt to do Miracles when they could not, and so discredit their own Doctrine, and Authority, and dishonour the Name of God. Of this sort of Enthusiastical Confidence and Impulse, with which the Spirit filled the Minds of Men, is that place to be understood in

^a Hom. 29. in Ep. ad Cor. cap. 12. Theophyl. & Oecum. & Theod. in id cap.

^b 1 Cor. xiii. 2.

the ^a xxith Chapter of St. *Matthew's* Gospel, Ver. 21. where our Saviour told his Disciples, *That if they had Faith, and doubted not, they should not only do what he had done to the Fig-tree, but if they should say to that Mountain (upon which they stood) Be thou removed, and cast into the Sea, it should be done.* And therefore this sort of Faith is here put before the Gift of Healing, and working of Miracles, because it consisted in an antecedent Impulse to do both.

Or else by Faith is here to be understood *supernatural Courage, and Confidence*, with which God was wont to endow the Minds of all those, whom he set upon any Design, that would find Oppositions from Devils, or Men. This *Fiducia*, or undaunted Courage, is called in the New Testament *παρρησία*, which we render Boldness, *Acts* iv. 13, 29, 31. But by the ingenious Translator of the *Mons-Testament* it is rendered *Constance, Fermeté, Liberté, Hardiesse*; and it was an effect of that which the Jewish Writers call the *Spirit of Might*, and as ^b *Maimonides* observes, it was always conferr'd upon the Person commissioned by God after the Promise of *Ittecha Ani, or Ebieh Immach, Go, and I will be with thee.* Which Promise as it was solemnly made by God to ^c *Moses*, ^d *Jeremiah*, and ^e others in the Old Testament; so was it as solemnly made to the Apostles by *Christ* in the New. For after his Resurrection, when he gave them Commission and Authority to Teach, and Baptize all Nations, he said, ^f *All Power is*

^a As also that in *Matth.* xvii. 20. *Luke* xvii. 5, 6. *Vid.* Chrysost. Hom. 29. in 1 Ep. ad Corinth. cap. 12. — Ἀλλὰ τὰ τῶν Σημείων οὕτως ἡς φησὶν, εἰ ἔχῃς πίστιν, &c. Theodor. in locum. Πίστιν ἐνίσταται ἡ τὴν κοινὴν ταύτην, ἀλλ' ἐκείνῳ οὕτως ἡς φησὶ δὴ εἰ ἔχω πάσαν τὴν πίστιν ὥστε ὅρη μεθιστάνειν—.

^b More Nevoch. p. 2. c. 38.

^c *Exod.* iii. 12.

^d *Jerem.* i. 8.

^e *Ezek.* iii. 9. *Deut.* xxxi. 6, 8. *Josh.* i. 5.

^f *Matth.* xxxviii. 19, 20. particularly to St. Paul, *Acts* xviii. 9, 10.

given unto me both in Heaven and Earth, Go ye therefore, and teach all Nations, Baptizing them in the Name of the Father, &c. and lo! I am with you to the End of the World. Accordingly we read in the *Acts of the Apostles*, with what invincible Resolution and Courage these poor Men appeared before the Jewish and Heathen Tribunals, and with what astonishing Presence both of Body and Mind, they, and other Teachers of the Gospel endowed with this Gift, bore the Name of *Jesus* before the Kings, and Princes, and People of the Earth. So we read of many of the Brethren, *Philip. i. 14.* who waxing confident by the Apostles Bonds, were much more bold to speak the Word without fear. So saith the Apostle to the *Thessalonians*, But after we had suffered, and were shamefully entreated, as ye know, at Philippi, yet we were bold in our God to speak the Gospel unto you with much Contention.

Under the Fourth miraculous Gift, which is the Gift of Healing, is comprehended the Power of Curing all Diseases both of Body, and Mind, without the help of Physick, through the alone Name of *Jesus Christ*, as also the more wonderful Power of raising the Dead. For as inflicting of Death is usually joined by the Antients with the Power of inflicting Diseases: So the Power of curing Diseases, and raising the Dead are usually joined together in their Writings as effects of the same miraculous Gift. Although the latter also is often reduced under the Fifth miraculous Gift,

^a *Acts vii. 13, 46.*

^b *1 Ep. xi. 2.*

^c *Inde jam facultas datur posse venenorum virus extinguere, animorum desipientium labes redditâ sanitate purgare, infestis jubere pacem, violentis quietem, ferocientibus lenitatem, — Cyprian. Epist. ad Donat.*

^d *Alii laborantes aliquâ infirmitate per manûs impositionem curant & sanos restitunt, etiam & quemadmodum diximus mortui resurrexerunt, & perseverârunt nobiscum annis multis. Irenæus, lib. 2. c. 57. Vid. Euseb. lib. 5. Hist. c. 7.*

Ἐνεργήματα Δυνάμεων, which we translate working of Miracles; under which is comprehended the Power of working Signs and Wonders in the Heavens, of silencing, and casting Devils both out of Men, and Oracles; the Power of resisting deadly Poisons, and Infections, promised by our Lord, *Mark* xvi. 18. and performed in *St. Paul*, *Acts* xxviii. 5. also the Power of inflicting Death, as the Prophet did on the Captains of Fifties, and their Companies, and *St. Peter* upon *Ananias* and his Wife. Lastly, the Power of inflicting Diseases on the Bodies of incorrigible Sinners, as *Paul* did upon *Elymas* the Sorcerer, to which I may add the Diseases which often came upon Excommunicats in those times, and perhaps also the Power of filling the Souls of contumacious Sinners with supernatural Horrour, and Agonies, which when they are but natural, are worse to be endured than the most intolerable bodily pains.

By Prophecy is to be understood Prophecy in its full latitude, and extent, as it signifies all the ways of speaking by immediate Inspiration from God to Men, or in the behalf of Men to God. In this large Sense it comprehends, First, the Word of Knowledge to teach, and discourse, of which I have spoken above. Secondly, the revealed Knowledge of secret, remote, and future Events; which *Dr. Lightfoot*, and *Menochius* think is specially meant here by the Word of Knowledge. Of secret things, as of the Mind, and Will of God, or the Thoughts of Men; of remote things, as of what was done in other places; or of future things, as of what was to be done in times to come. The Spirit of Prophecy, specially so called, had ceased a long time, or at least was very rare in the Jewish Church before the Coming of *Christ*. But in the *last Days*, that is, in the conclusion of the Jewish, and beginning of the Christian Church, God poured it out upon all Flesh, when their Young Men saw
Visions,

Visions, and their Old Men dreamed Dreams, according to the Prediction of *Joel* in the ii^d Chapter, which *St. Peter*, when the Spirit descended on the Day of *Pentecost* with his Gifts, declared was then fulfilled to the *Jews*. By this renewed Spirit of Prophecy it was, that the Prophets of the Church of *Antioch* had it revealed to them by the H. Ghost, that *Barnabas* and *Saul* should be separated for the Work, unto which he had called them; that *St. Peter* knew how *Ananias* and *Sapphira* lyed to the Holy Ghost; that *Agabus* foretold the Famine in the Days of *Claudius Cesar*, and the Imprisonment of *St. Paul* at *Hierusalem*; that *Cornelius* received Command in a Vision to send for *Peter*, and that the Spirit said unto *Peter* meditating on his Vision, *Behold three Men seek thee*. Thus also *Saul* saw *Ananias* in a Vision, and *Ananias* in another Vision at the same time was directed to go to *Saul*; and thus *Saul*, now called *Paul*, told the Centurion before the Shipwrack, that not a Man in the Ship should be lost. Lastly, by this Gift it was, that *St. John*, the *Daniel* of the New Testament, wrote his Book of Revelation in the antient Prophetick Style, and that many others, of whom we read in ^a Ecclesiastical History, foretold many strange Events.

In the next place, Prophecy is here taken, as it often is in the Old, and New Testament, for *Praising of God by inspired Hymns and Psalms*. For inspired Persons did usually spend their Divine Enthusiasm in composing of Hymns, and spiritual Songs: which is the reason we read of such a great number of Divine Poets, or Psalmists, among the *Hebrews*, as *Moses*, *David*, *Asaph*, *Heman*, *Jeduthun*, and the rest. Hence it is that we read, 1 *Sam.* x. of a company of Prophets, who came down from an high

^a Euseb. Hist. Eccl. lib. v. cap. 7. lib. iii. cap. 37.

Place Propheſying, ſinging (ſaith the ^a Paraphraſt) with Pſalteries, Tabrets, Pipes and Harps. And both in that, and the xixth Chapter, where *Saul* is ſaid to have propheſied among the Prophets; the *Paraphraſt* plainly ſaith, he ſang, or praised God. And according to both theſe ſenſes of the word *Prophecy* you find Pſalms, and Doctrines among the Gifts of the Spirit in the xivth Chapter of this Epistle, and the 26th Verſe.

But Thirdly, Prophecy is put here not only for Preaching, and revealing ſecret and future things, and Praiſing God by Inſpiration, but alſo for Praying unto him *in publick Aſſemblies* by ^b Inſpired Prayers. For in the Apoſtles time there was a Miraculous Gift of Praying as well as Preaching, when the Spirit uſed publickly to actuate the Souls of Men, and affect them in ſuch an extraordinary manner, as to make them pray for ſuch things, and in ſuch a way, as in thoſe early times, when the new planted Churches, which had been uſed to pray after the *Jewiſh* manner, and form, upon the change of their Religion, and Synagogues, knew not for what nor how to pray. Wherefore in theſe Congregations aſſembled together in Chriſtian Synagogues, which as yet

^a יְיָ אֱלֹהֵינוּ

^b Μελέδ' ὃ τέτων πάντων ἡν ὃ εὐχῆς χάρισμα — Porro una cum his omnibus donis erat & precum donum, quod & ipsum Spiritus dicebatur, quo qui præditus erat pro plebe universa preces fundebat. Quandoquidem enim multa eorum, quæ nobis conducunt, ignoremus, & quæ minime conducunt postulemus, accessit donum precum ad unum aliquem eorum, qui quod communiter universæ Ecclesiæ conducebat, id ipse pro omnibus stans postularet, tum alios edoceret. Spiritum igitur hic vocat tum donum tale, tum animam eam, quæ donum id susciperet, quæque apud Deum intercederet, ac gerneret. Qui enim hujusmodi gratiâ dignatus est, is magnâ cum animi compunctione stans, multisque cum gemitibus, mente autem coram Deo prostratus, quæ omnibus conducunt petit, cujus & nunc Symbolum est Minister pro populo preces Deo offerens. Hoc igitur Paulus sentiens dixit, ipse spiritus intercedit pro nobis gemitibus inenarrabilibus. Chrys. in ep. ad Rom. c. 8. Hom. 14. To the same purpose speaks Theoph. and Oecumen. upon the place.

had

had not composed Liturgies, as the *Jewish* had, God directed them by Prophets, or Inspired Men, here called *πνευματικοί*, for what, and in what manner to pray; as to invoke God by the new Name of Father, to pray for the Enlargement of his Kingdom, the Conversion of the *Gentiles*, the Peace of the New *Hierusalem*, the Prosperity of the *Roman* Empire, which they did not pray for in the *Jewish* Oeconomy, and to pray unto him through the Merits and Mediation of the crucified *Jesus*, which were all new Matter and Modes of Prayer. In this sense it was that the Apostle saith, that the Spirit (by the Gift of Prayer) helpeth our Infirmities: and that the Spirit, or ^a Inspired Person, maketh Intercession for us *συναγμοῖς ἀλαλήτοις*, with *unutterable Groans*, which cannot be expressed. Likewise (saith he) the Spirit helpeth our Infirmities, for ^b we know not what things we should pray for (or in what manner) as we ought, but the inspired Man maketh intercession for us with Groanings which cannot be uttered. Which Groanings, or rather Sighings, were the effect of those supernatural Enthusiasms, and Devotions, with which the Spirit filled the Souls of these Inspired Orators, and so made them mix Sighs with their Prayers, often moving them withal to pray in unknown Tongues. Which *St. Paul* emphatically calls *praying by the Spirit*, in opposition to praying intelligibly, or ^c with the Understanding, as you may see in the ^d xivth Chapter of this Epistle, the 14th and 15th Verses, which the Enthusiasts of

^a Μετὰ γὰρ πολλῆς κατανύξεως ἵστατο ὁ πνευματικὸς ἀνθρώπος
—*Nam magna cum compunctione stabat spiritualis ille homo, & multis gemitibus, cujus hodiè signum est Diaconus stans intentas supplicationes pro populo effundens.* Theoph. in locum.

^b *Etiam seipsum immiscuit nè sermo odiosus videatur.* Oecumen. in locum.

^c *Adverbium significat nomen cum præpositione.* Sanctius in Minerv. Schiopp. in gram. philos. Grammaire raisonnée.

^d Chrysost. & Theoph. in loc.

this Age have so perverted, and abused. This Gift above all others was looked upon as a singular Pledge of God's Favour, and as a Seal by which he own'd the Christians to be his *adopted Sons*. And therefore in the viiith Chapter of the Epistle to the *Romans*, the Apostle calls it the *Spirit of Adoption*, whereby they were moved, ^a as *Christ* himself was, to cry *Abba, Father*. A Name, as ^b *St. Chrysostom* and *Theophylact* observe, by which the *Jews* were nowhere found to call upon God in Prayer, although they called God ^c Father by way of acknowledgment and confession; and therefore the Spirit moving the Christians to invoke God by the Name of Father, as our Saviour had directed his Disciples to address themselves unto him before, did thereby bear witness with their Spirits, that they were ^d *the Sons of God*. I pray mark what I say ^e upon the Authority of *Origen* and *St. Chrysostom*, who asserts that the

Jews

^a *Mark* xiv. 36.

^b *In locum.*

^c *Deut.* xxxii. 18. *Mal.* ii. 10. *1 Chron.* xxix. 10. *Isa.* lxiii. 16. *Ixiv.* 8. *Job.* viii. 41. So *Joma* c. 8, 9. dixit R. Akiba, *beati vos O Israel coram quo purificamini; & quis purificat vos? Pater vester qui est in cœlis, juxta dictum illud, Et spargam, &c.* *Ezek.* xxxvi. 25. *Sotta* cap. 9. 15. Postquam prædixit futuras calamitates tempore visitationis templi, sic erumpit: Cui ergo nitentur nisi Patri nostro qui est in cœlis? *Quæ verba bis ibi repetuntur.*

^d *Galat.* iv. 6.

^e *Origen.* Πατὴρ ἐν οὐρανῷ. In explicatione Orationis Dominicæ. Πατὴρ ἡμῶν, &c. Pater noster qui es in cœlis. Opera pretium fuerit diligentius perscrutari Testamentum, Vetus quod dicitur, an alicubi reperias orationem cujusquam qui Deum Patrem vocat; necdum enim impræsentiarum sedulo quam possem perquirenti mihi tale quidpiam occurrit. Non autem hoc dicimus, quod Deus ibi nusquam appelletur Pater; sed quod homines fideles non vocarentur filii Dei; sed quod nusquam invenerimus exemplum fiducia, qualis hic à Servatore indicatur, ut quis compellet Deum in oratione sub nomine Patris. Quod autem Deus Pater dicatur, & qui Dei sermonibus attendunt, filii ejus, id verò passim videre est, ut in Deuteronomio: Deum qui te genuit, dereliquisti: & oblitus es Dei nutrientis te. Et iterum: Nonne hic ipse Pater tuus possedit te, & fecit te, & creavit te? Et iterum, Filii quibus non est fides in eis. Et in *Esaiâ*: Filios genui

Jews were no where found to invoke God by the Name of Father, which must be^a restrained to the Old Testament and the Apocrypha, where from Abraham to the Maccabeans we find none that calls upon him in Prayer by the Name of Father; which makes the Notion of these Great Men very remarkable,

genui, & exaltavi; ipsi autem spreverunt me. *Et in Malachia: Filius glorificabit Patrem, & servus Dominum suum. Et si Pater ego sum, ubi est gloria mea? Et si Dominus sum ego, ubi est timor meus? Etsi dicatis ideo Deum esse Patrem, & qui verbo fidei geniti sunt, filios ejus; at verò nusquam ei filiationem certam ac immutabilem tribuunt Veteris Testamenti scriptores. Ideo loca quæ citavimus, ostendunt filios, qui sic dicti sunt, istos obnoxios (i. e. sub potestate Dei ut servos) fuisse. Quod ipsum & Apostolus: Quanto tempore, inquit, hæres parvulus est, nihil differt a servo, etsi sit Dominus omnium; sed sub tutoribus & actoribus est, usque ad præfinitum tempus à Patre. Plenitudo autem temporis ex adventu domini nostri Jesu Christi jam adest, quando, quotquot volunt adoptionem filiorum accipimus. Sicut Paulus de illis docet: Non enim accepistis, inquit, spiritum servitutis in timore, sed accepistis spiritum adoptionis filiorum, in quo clamamus, Abba Pater. Et in isto secundum Johannem: Quotquot autem receperunt eum, dedit eis potestatem filios Dei fieri, his qui credunt in nomine ejus.*

^a For in their Offices, which are very antient, we find God invoked by the Name of *Father*, particularly in that solemn Prayer, which is stiled (because it contains Eighteen small Prayers) שמונה עשרה and mention whereof is made in the Mishna [Tractat. de Benedictionibus ברכות cap. 4. 3. Ramban Gamaliel dicit quâlibet die orare debet quisquam octodecim preces] one of those Prayers beginneth לתורתך השיבנו אבינו *Fac nos revertere, Pater noster, ad legem tuam: Turn us, our Father, unto thy Law.* Another Prayer for the Blessing of the Season of the Year, which particularly is cited in the Mishnah, in the same Tract, cap. 5. 2. beginneth, ברכנו אבינו בכל מעשי ידינו *Bless us, our Father, in all the works of our hands.* In the Days appointed for Penitence, which are 10 Days, and to some 40 before the Day of Atonement, there are many Prayers, which begin אבינו מלכנו *our Father, our King.* But there are more modern Jewish Authors who wrote since the time of the Apostles, in whom though this Title of *Father* be now found, yet it is certain that the old *Jews* being under a servile Dispensation, never presumed to address themselves unto God by that familiar Appellation before the times of Christianity, when they saw that the Christians, who reproached them as *Bondmen to the Law*, came with such freedom to the Throne of Grace.

that the Christians first invoked God by that Title, being thereunto moved by the Holy Ghost, who thereby declared to the unbelieving *Jews*, that they were the Sons of God, and his Heirs, and Co-heirs, through *Jesus Christ*. But then saith the latter (as it were correcting himself, tho' he need not have said so) if they did call God Father in their Devotions, they did it, ἐξ οικείας διανοίας, of their own proper motion; whereas the gifted Christian Orators did it, ἀπὸ πνευματικῆς ἐνέργειας κινέμενοι, by the Spiritual Energy of the Holy Ghost: And there was as sensible a difference (saith he) between calling God Father from those two Principles, as between speaking in acquired Tongues, and Tongues by Inspiration; or healing by Physick, and the Gift of the Holy Ghost; whereof the latter carried along with them a visible Divine Impress: And therefore the Spirit which moved the Christians to cry *Abba*, Father, in their Devotions, might well be called the *Spirit of Adoption*, which thereby bore witness with their Spirits, that they were the Sons of God.

From whence I pass to the *discerning of Spirits*, which was as useful a Gift as any of the rest. For as in *Egypt* Satan raised up *Jannes* and *Jambres*, and other Magicians to contend with *Moses* in working of Miracles: So in the primitive times of Christianity he raised up several Conjurers, and Magicians, who, as the Apostle speaks in his first Epistle to *Timothy*, came after the working of Satan with all Power, and Signs, and lying Wonders; of whom our Saviour prophesying in the 24th Chapter of *St. Matthew's Gospel*, said, that they should shew great Signs, and Wonders, and deceive, if it were possible, the

* *Paracletus ipse testimonium dicit dono quod datum est nobis: non enim nos Abba sonamus sine teste & a nobis ipsis, verum paracleti donum est, & ipse docuit nos per spiritum, id est, donum, sic loqui in orationibus.* Theophyl. Rom. viii. 16. See Gal. iv. 6.

very

very ^a *Elect*, that is, ^a *the Church it self*. They had Power from the Devil (as St. *John* plainly saith, *Rev.* xiii. 14. and xvi. 14.) to work Signs and Wonders in the Air; to speak divers Languages; to foretel Plagues and Storms; to tell what was done at a distance; to make Fire come down from Heaven; to vomit Flames; ^b to walk and fly in the Air, and cast out Devils by a compact with *Beelzebub* their Sovereign Prince. And all these things they did to confront the Miracles, and invalidate the Authority of the Apostles, and confirm this Antichristian Doctrine, which was a Contradiction to their Gospel, that *Jesus* was not *Christ*. For this reason they are called, in the fore-cited Places, Antichrist, and false Prophets; and there were very many of them both *Jews* and *Gentiles*, as *Simon* called *Magus*, *Elymas* the Sorcerer, the Seven Sons of *Sceva* the *Jew*, and many more not mentioned in the Scriptures, such as were the *Gnostical* Workers of lying Wonders mentioned in *Irenæus*, *Barchozbab* the *Jew*, and *Apollonius Thyaneus*, who aped our Saviour, as *Pharaoh's* Sorcerers imitated *Moses*, in as many Miracles as he could do, and, if the Stories of him are true, was the Prince of all the Devil's Apostles, and one of the greatest Magicians that ever deceived the World.

God therefore, in compassion to the state of the Primitive Church, inspired the *Governments* in all places with a supernatural Sagacity to discern these *Satanical* Spirits, and distinguish their Works from those of the Spirit of God. One of the principal

^a Compare *Exod.* xix. 5, 6. *Deut.* vii. 6. and xiv. 2. and xxvi. 18. with 1 *Pet.* ii. 9. *Col.* i. 13. *Rev.* ii. 9. and v. 10. *Matth.* xxiv. 22.

^b As *Simon Magus*, *Albani* the *Scythian*, and *Pythagoras* the *Græcian* Magician are said to have done. So *Theodotus*, one of the *Montanist* Prophets, was carried up into the Air by this false prophetic Spirit. *Euseb.* lib. v. c. 16.

Rules, which the Discerners of Spirits gave to the Church, whereby to try the Spirits, was this : that every Spirit, which wrought Miracles to prove that *Jesus* was the *Christ*, was of God ; but every Spirit, that wrought Wonders to prove, that he was not *Christ*, or that he was not come in the Flesh, or that another was the *Christ*, was a lying Spirit, that Spirit of Antichrist, which our Saviour foretold his Disciples should come, and which was in the World in the time of St. *John*, as you may read in the place I cited before, as also in his 2^d Epistle, Verse 7. Conformably to this St. *Paul*, in the Verse before my Text, lays down the same infallible Rule, that no Man that calleth *Jesus* Anathema, as many Infidels and Apostates did, can speak by the Spirit of God. Another Rule, whereby to try the Spirits, was Submission and Obedience to the Governours of the Church. *We are of God* : (saith St. *John*, 1 Ep. iv. 6.) *he that knoweth God heareth us ; he that is not of God heareth not us : hereby we know the Spirit of Truth, and the Spirit of Error.* And, *If any Man among you* (saith St. *Paul*, 1 Cor. xiv. 37.) *pretend to be a Prophet, or inspired by the Holy Ghost, as a sign that he is truly so, let him acknowledge, that the things I write unto you are the Commandments of God.* I question not, but they had other Tests besides these, by which to try the Spirits, as that every Spirit, which wrought Signs to confirm any Doctrine or Practice, which was inconsistent with sound Christian Doctrine, or with a pure and peaceable Life, or the sober Use, and Rules of Moral Reason, must needs be a Diabolical, Pseudo-prophetical Spirit, as I think I could demonstrate, if I had but time. Thus the Governours of Christian Churches in the second Century, while the true Spirit of Prophecy was ^a yet in the Church, tried the prophetical

* As in *Ammia Philadelphensis* and *Quadratus*. Euseb. Hist. Eccl. lib. v. c. 27. Iræn. lib. ii. c. 27.

Spirit of *Montanus*, and his two Women, *Maximilla* and *Priscilla*, and others of his gang, and found it to be a Diabolical Spirit of Imposture by the following Marks. 1. Because they were ^a *Parecstatical*, and vented their pretended Prophecies in false Ecstasies, which were attended with Transports, Fury, and Phrenzy, when for the time they were out of their wits, and knew not what they said. 2. Because they pretended to an higher degree of Purity, Saintship, and Abstraction, than all other Christians, calling them ^b *Carnalists*, and themselves the *Spiritual*; pretending that their Religion was of a more exalted and heavenly nature, than that of the Church. 3. Because ^c their Lives did not answer their Pretensions to Strictness and Purity; for they indulged themselves in Feasting and Gluttony, and their Prophets dyed their Hair, and blackned their Eyebrows, and painted their Faces, and affected fine Clothes, and played at Tables, and Dice, and raised great Sums of Money under the name of Presents, and put it out to Use, to maintain their Luxury. 4. Because they look upon their own prophetick Writings as of equal Authority with the Prophecies of the Old and New Testament, and esteemed them altogether as such. And lastly, Because they ^d forsook the Church, and set up their own Altars against it, blaspheming it, and speaking evil of the Bishops and Presbyters of it, and with the greatest Contempt and Malice, because they rejected that Spirit of Delusion by which they spake.

Thus much of the Gift of trying and discerning Spirits. From whence I proceed to speak of the two last kinds, *viz.* of the ^e *Gift of Tongues*, and

^a Euseb. lib. v. c. 16, 17. Vales. in locum. ^b Ψυχικὸς.

^c Euseb. lib. v. c. 18. ^d Euseb. lib. v. c. 16.

^e Ὁ μὲν τῇ Περσῶν, ὁ δὲ τῇ Ῥωμαίων, ὁ δὲ τῇ Ἰνδῶν, ὁ δὲ ἑτέρα τινὶ τοιαύτῃ εὐθείας ἐφθέγγετο γλώσσῃ. Chrysost. in 1 Ep. ad Cor. c. 12. Hom. 29.

which

which was as wonderful as that, the Gift of *Interpreting* thereof. To the understanding of which be pleased to take notice, that in giving spiritual Gifts God gave to every Man^a in kind and degree, according to his measure, what was fittest for him, and what he could best bear. And therefore tho' one inspired in the Congregation with the Gift of Tongues always understood what he spoke, yet he always^b was not able to interpret what he had delivered; for which reason the Spirit^c revealed to another, who stood by, and understood not the inspired Tongue, the Matter which the inspired Oracle had spoken therein. Some had strength enough to^d perform both, but more commonly one of them was enough for one Person at one time; and tho' to speak in a strange Tongue was counted the more noble Gift, because it was given to the Apostles; yet the Apostle in the xivth Chapter prefers the Gift of interpreting before it, because it was more useful, and profitable, for the Church.

These are the miraculous Gifts of the Holy Ghost, which, as it appears from the 28th Verse of this Chapter, God gave to the difference of Ministeries, or Ministers, *i. e.* to the *Apostles, Prophets, Teachers, Helps, and Governments* of the Primitive Church. To the *Apostles*, who were always *Prophets*; to *Prophets*, who were not *Apostles*, to *Teachers, Instructors, or Pastors*, who were the

^a Εἰ γὰρ οἶδας, ὅτι ἀπὸ κηδημονίας ἐχάρισά σοι καὶ τὸ μέτρον ἔδωκε, σέβει καὶ χαίρει σὺν ᾧ ἐλάβες δὴ μὴ δυαχέραινε τὸν ᾧ ἐκ ἁληφας, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἀμολόγῃ χάριν ὅτι μὴ μείζονα ἐλάβες τῇ δυνάμει τῇ σῆς. — Ω δὴ συμφέρον αὐτῷ τὸ δαθὲν μέτρον, εἰ καὶ ἐλάττω εἴη. — Φειδόμενος σὺ, καὶ τὸ λυσιτελέει σοι σκοπῶν. Τὸ γὰρ μείζον λαβεῖν τὸν ἑ δυνάμειον ἐνεγκεῖν, τὸτο καὶ ἀσύμφορον, καὶ βλάβην ἔχον, &c. Chrysost. in 1 Ep. ad Cor. cap. 12. Rom. 29.

^b Ὁ μὲν γὰρ ἵκει τὸ τί ἔλαβεν αὐτὸς ἑτέρω ὃ ἐρμηνεύσαι ἔκ ἐδύνατο. Chrysost. ibid.

^c 1 Cor. xiv. 28.

^d Ὁ δὲ καὶ ἀμφοτέρω ταῦτα χαρίσματα ἐπέκλειτο, ἢ τέτων θά-
τερον. Chrysost. ibid.

more learned and skilful sort of Doctors, fixed in new-planted Churches, answerable to the *Scribes* in the Synagogue, and wholly devoted themselves to Preach, and expound the Scriptures, which was an excellent Gift, or Talent, and always esteemed the most useful way of Instruction (especially of the ^a *Jewish* Profelytes) in the Primitive Christian Church. These Διδάσκαλοι, or Christian *Rabbies*, were also Ministers to exhort, as well as to teach in the Christian Synagogues; and tho' as *Scribes* instructed by study unto the Kingdom of Heaven, they could, like good Householders, bring out of their own Treasure things both new and old; yet they might in those times, like others, have any of the Gifts of the Spirit, when it was needful, as Prophecy, Healing, working of Miracles, or divers kind of Tongues. By *Helps* are understood Helpers, or Assistants, such as the Evangelists were to the Apostles, as *Silas* to *Paul*, *Mark* to *Barnabas*, or such as the Deacons were to the Bishops, and Presbyters, and the whole Church. And they are called *Helps* by an *Hebraism* in *Greek*, as the ^b *Levites* were called in the *Jewish* Church and Language, מַסְעָדֵי לַכֹּהֲנִים ^c *Helps to the Priests*. By *Governments* are to be understood Governours; for in the *Hellenistical* Style the Abstract is often put for the Concrete, according to the Custom of the *Hebrew* and *Syriack* Tongues; and by Governours are meant the *Apostles* and ^d *Bishops*, to whom the Gift of discerning Spirits belonged in a principal and peculiar manner, because the word Κυβέρνησις, which is

^a Luke xxiii. 27. Acts ii. ch. xxviii. 23.

^b Deacons called *Levites*. Clem. ad Cor. 40. — Καὶ Ἀδίταις ἰδία Διακονίαι ἐπὶκεῖν).

^c Lightfoot's *Hora Hebraica* in locum: *Levites* called ἀντιλήψεις ἱερέων.

^d So Rev. ii. 2. the Angel of the Church of *Ephesus* is commended for trying them, which say, they are Apostles, and are not.

here put for Government, is used by the *Septuagint* to render the *Hebrew* Word *Tachbuloth*, which signifies discerning Wisdom, Prudence, or Counsel, wherein the Spirit of Government doth consist. Thus in the first of *Proverbs*, v. 5. where we say, *A Man of Understanding shall attain unto wise Counsel*, the *Septuagint* saith, ὁ νοήμων κυβέρνῃσιν κλήσεται, *a Man of Understanding shall attain unto Government*. The like may be seen *Prov.* xi. 14. and xiv. 6.

But besides these, there were other miraculous Operations under the Gospel in those early times, which the Apostle had no occasion to mention in this Chapter; some of which I took occasion to mention under the Gift of Healing, and which are all comprehended under Signs, and Wonders, and divers Miracles, *Hebr.* xi. 4. where this Apostle saith of the Disciples of *Jesus*, that *God bore them witness both with Signs, and Wonders, and with divers Miracles, and with Gifts of the Holy Ghost, according to his own Will*. Hither may be reduced the audible, and visible Manifestations of the Power, and Presence of God, as Voices from Heaven heard by one, or more Persons; shaking of the Places where the Christians prayed, and the Appearance of Angels, those Ministering Spirits, to bring Messages, Orders, and Directions from God, or otherwise to assist his Elect. ^a Which *Cosmus Indicopleustes* reckons among the Wonders ascribed to the Holy Ghost, who by his inward, and outward Aids and Assistances supply'd the Presence of Christ to his Church. *Joel*, saith he, *foretold the Wonders, that were to be wrought by the Holy Ghost in the time of Christ, as Prophecies, Dreams, Visions, and the appearance of Angels, which Women beheld at the Passion of our Lord*. This sort of Miracle, as well as ^b Vision, was in the Church in the time of *St. Cyprian*, who

^a *Lib.* v. p. 231.
by *Pontius* his Deacon.

^b *Epist.* xvi. xi. and in his Life written

in his Discourse ^a *de Mortalitate* tells of an Angel, who appeared to a dying Bishop in shape of a young Man, so venerable and glorious, that it was not easy to look upon him.

These external Demonstrations, and Testimonies, of the Power, and Presence of God, are distinguished by the Apostle from the internal Operations, and Gifts; but I thought it requisite to mention them, because they were wrought by God to manifest his Glory in the Church, and relate to some Passages in the following part of this Discourse.

Thus having given an account of the Number, and Diversities of these Gifts of the Holy Ghost, together with the difference of *Ministeries* to which they belong'd, I proceed in the Third place to shew the Reasons, why they were given by God to the Primitive Churches, and not to the Churches of latter times.

Now this Reason is to be taken from the Wants and Necessities of the Primitive Church, whose *Infant-state* required, that God should assist her with the Miraculous Gifts of the Spirit, till the Gospel was sufficiently Preach'd about the Empire; the Scriptures of the New Testament compleated; the Temple-worship abolished among the *Jews*; the new way of Worship fully taught among the Christians; Idolatry was destroyed among the *Gentiles*, and both were united together under *Christ* into one Communion, or Catholick Church. It had been impossible for God to bring to pass all these stupendous things in a way consistent with his own Wisdom, and the Freedom of Human Nature, without making use of these, or other fitting Means, as wonderful as these, to publish the Gospel, and confirm the Truth thereof. How should the *Jewish*

^a P. 163. Edit. Oxon.

and *Gentile* World have believed without Apostles, and ^a Apostolical Preachers, and how should the Apostles, and Evangelists have preached, unless they had been inspired? For their Saviour left them like Orphans, or rather like Scholars of the third Class, before he had revealed all the Gospel unto them; and therefore it was necessary for God to send his Spirit the Comforter to supply his place among them, to build upon the Foundation which he had laid, and discover the Word of Wisdom in as ample manner unto them, as they were to preach it about the World. And then because they were illiterate Men, that knew no Languages but their own, it was requisite for him to give them, and their Assistants, the Gift of *strange Tongues*, that they might freely converse with Men of all Countries, and Provinces, and Preach the Gospel through all the World.

But then as the Spirit qualified them by infused Divinity, and Languages, to preach; so was it requisite for him to confirm the Truth of their Doctrine by Signs, and Wonders, as by giving them Power to silence Oracles, and rebuke Magical Spirits, to cast out Devils, heal the Sick, raise the Dead, and demonstrate his special Presence in Christian Assemblies, by sending his Spirit upon private Men, and Idiots; and in particular, as I said before, by enabling them to speak in strange Tongues, which they could not, or were not permitted to interpret to the Congregations in which they spoke. This manner of speaking in unknown Tongues is different from that, which I mentioned a little before. For the former way of speaking was given to the Apostles, and Evangelists, not so much for a Sign, as to enable them to instruct foreign Nations in the Faith; and it was either a permanent Gift, or if it were not, it always came

^a 2 Cor. viii. 23. Phil. ii. 25.

upon them in a calm and gentle manner, insomuch that they were perfect masters of their own Understandings, and could freely converse with the People to whom they spoke.

But the use of the latter was principally ^a *Signal*, or *Testimonial*, like other Miracles, and came upon the People, as well as the Ministers, and that in such a powerful, and plentiful Enthusiasm, that though they understood their ^b own Inspirations, yet they were not always able to interpret them to the Church; and therefore to this Gift was usually annexed the more useful Gift of interpreting Tongues, of which I spoke before.

All these Miracles are called the Testimony of the Spirit; particularly, *Heb. ii. 4.* God the sender of the Spirit is said to have *born the Apostles witness, with Signs and Wonders, and divers Miracles, and Gifts of the Holy Ghost.* Hitherto we may also refer the Gift of Prophecy properly so called, which of all the Unctions of the Holy Ghost was a particular Sign to the *Jews*, that the Christians were also the Children of Promise, upon whom the Spirit of Prophecy came. But then it was requisite for them upon other accounts, because the Discovery of Things secret, and remote, and the Prediction of future Events was frequently necessary for the preservation of the Christians, and preventing of imminent Danger to the Church. Thus *Agabus* signifying by the Spirit, that there should be a great Dearth throughout all the World, *i. e.* all *Judea*, the Disciples at *Antioch* determin'd before-hand to send Relief unto their Brethren in *Judea* by the Hands of *Barnabas* and *Paul*. So an Angel was sent to *Paul* to assure him, that he should be brought before *Cesar*, and that God would save all the Lives in the Ship for his sake. By which Revelation he

^a 1 Cor. xiv. 22.
xxiv. 7.

^b 1 Cor. xiv. 4.

^c *Hamm. on Matth.*

was enabled both to encourage and direct the Seamen, who had otherwise given up all in despair. Hitherto I may also refer the Prediction of our Lord, *Matth. xxiv. 15 and 16 verses*, which the believing *Jews* remembring, when *Gallus* so providentially raised the Siege of *Jerusalem*, immediately went out of it and fled to the Mountains; insomuch, that when *Titus* some Months after besieg'd the City, there was not one Christian in the Place.

Furthermore, the Spirit of Preaching, Praying, and Praising God by Inspiration or Prophecy, improperly so called, was requisite for the State of the Primitive Christian Church; for by this the Circumcision was also convinc'd, that *God was no respecter of Persons*, when they saw to their Astonishment in the Christian Assemblies, that on the Gentiles also were poured out the Gifts of the Holy Ghost. This was the Reason why the Apostles did by solemn Prayer and Imposition of Hands confer these, and other Gifts of the Holy Ghost upon baptized Gentiles, to convince the *Jews* that the Christian Religion was to be Catholick, and that Christ was the Saviour of no less than the whole World. Furthermore, they were necessary to confirm the Faith, and warm the Devotion of the newly converted Christians, who were very apt, through the delusion of Hereticks and satanical Spirits, to apostatize and renounce Christ, as likewise to convince the Jewish and Gentile Unbelievers, whom Curiosity brought to the Christian Assemblies, that *God was in them, and among them for a Truth*. Lastly, As *S. Clement*, who was *S. Paul's* Fellow-work-man, assures us in his first Epistle to these *Corinthians*, who were rich in spiritual Gifts, these and other

^a Euseb. Eccles. Hist. l. 3. c. 5.

^b Καὶ χάρις ἐν ᾗ πόλεις κηρύσσοντες καθίστανον τὰς ἀρχαὶς αὐτῶν δοκιμάσαντες τὸ πνεῦμα εἰς ἐπισκόπους, καὶ Διακόνους τῶν μεγάλων πειθεῖν, 43. vid. 44.

Gifts were sent upon the People as divine Indications to the Apostles, whom they should Ordain Bishops, and Presbyters and Deacons, for the Cities and Countries which should be converted to the Faith. So the Apostles directed the Disciples to look out among themselves seven Men of honest Report, and full of the Holy Ghost whom they might ordain Deacons. And St. Paul in his first Epistle to *Timothy*, iv. 14. charged him not to neglect the ^a Gift of Priesthood, which was given him by Prophecy, and the Imposition of his Hands. And accordingly *Eusebius* out of *Clemens Alexandrinus* reports of St. John, that he took Men to ordain Bishops of the *Asiatick* Churches, τὸ ἀπὸ τῶν ἐνδοξάντων, from among those who were signalized with spiritual Gifts. Agreeable to which ^b St. Paul told their Predecessors, that the Holy Ghost had set them over the Flock.

Lastly, Because it was very difficult to govern the Church more than other Societies and Bodies Politick without sensible Punishments, God then endowed the Apostles and their Successors with a Power of inflicting supernatural Diseases, and Death upon incorrigible Offenders; which was a Power more to be feared than the Power of the Sword. This supernatural Power of inflicting corporal Punishments, which in those Ages usually accompanied Excommunication, made the Apostolical Rod as terrible as the Pestilence that walketh in Darkness, and the Destruction that wasteth at Noon-day. For by it Offenders were delivered up to Satan to be tormented, possessed, and killed by him, who is the ^c ordinary Executioner of Gods Judgments. And it was so inherent at that time in the Apostolical Function for punishing of Scandals, and preserving the Unity and Order of the

^a Calvin. Instit. l. 4. cap. 3. & in locum.

^b Acts xx. 28.

^c Job ii. 6. 1 Sam. xvi. 14.

Church, that God was pleased to second their dreadful Censures in their Absence as well as their Presence, as upon the *incestuous Corinthian*, whom this Apostle by his Authority, *deliver'd up to Satan* in an ^a Ecclesiastical meeting at *Corinth*, altho' he was not there. And such a tender regard had God for the Order and Discipline of the Church, that he concurred with the Apostles in the execution of this Power, not only against those who continued obstinately in ^b Incest, ^c Blasphemy, Heresies, and such like Sins, but against those also that were prating malicious Schismatics, opposers of the Bishop, who was the Principle of Unity in all Churches, and Disturbers of the Peace and Order of the Church. Such a one was *Alexander* the Copper-smith, and *Diotrephes* in the Church of *Ephesus*, whom *St. John* assured the Church he ^d would remember (*i. e.* Censure) when he came, for his evil Deeds. We cannot imagine that our Lord, who came not to destroy Mens Lives but save them, would have given the Apostles such a Power over Mens lives, but in order to such a considerable end. It was necessary, that they, their Assistants, and Successors the Bishops (who are likewise called ^e Apostles, *2 Cor.* viii. 23. *Gal.* i. 19. *Phil.* ii. 25.) should be invested with this Power to preserve their Authority as Governors, and thereby secure the Discipline and Government of the Church; which as such, is a *spiritual Body Politick* consisting of Magistrates and Subjects, and so ought to have its proper Laws. Therefore God, who in his infinite Wisdom could not erect a Society without Governors, nor constitute Governors without investing

^a *1 Cor.* v. 3, 4, 5. ^b *1 Cor.* v. 3, 4, 5. ^c *1 Tim.* i. 20.
^d *2 Tim.* ii. 17. ^e 3 Epist.

^e Theodor. *1 Tim.* iii. 1. πρὸς τὸν νῦν καλεσμένον Ἐπισκόπον Ἀποστόλους ὀνόμαζον. And *Clemens* Bishop of *Rome* is cited under the Character of *Clemens* the Apostle, by *Clem. Alexand.* l. 4. *Strom.*

them with a sufficient Power of casting contumacious Transgressors out of their Government, thought fit in the Church's Minority to execute Judgment upon those whom they ejected; in which concurrence, I conceive, consisted their miraculous Power of inflicting supernatural Diseases, and Death. A Power more than Imperial, and greater than *Cæsar* could shew, which made their Ecclesiastical Subjects reverence their Persons and dread their Displeasure; and by consequence shews, that it was put into their Hands in that exigence, as the Sword is put into the Hand of the Secular Magistrate, that they might be a Terror to evil Doers, and assert their spiritual Government over the Church. This is plain from the Story of *Ananias* and *Saphira*, whose sudden miraculous Death was a Terror to the rest (for as the Text tells us, *Great fear came upon all the Church*) and plainly shews that the Church was not a mere voluntary Society, nor the apostolical Authority precarious, but the undoubted Institution and Ordinance of God.

From all which I hope it is plain, that the necessities of the Primitive Church were the reason, why God gave these Gifts of the Holy Ghost to Her, and not to the Churches of later Times. And this is apparently asserted by the Apostle in the fourth Chapter of his Epistle to the ^a *Ephesians*, where after he had spoken of the ^b Gifts which our Saviour gave in different measures to the several Ministers of the Church, to the *Apostles*, *Prophets*, ^c *Evangelists*, ^d *Pastors*, and *Teachers*, saith, *that it was for the Perfecting of the Saints, for the Work of*

^a Chrysost. in Ep. ad Eph. c. 4. Hom. II.

^b Διδὸς γὰρ ὁ Θεὸς τὰ χαρίσματα ἀντιλαμβάνει τὴν διακονίαν, Theophyl. upon the place.

^c Ἐυαγγελιστοὶ ὡς Πείσκιλλα καὶ Ἀκύλας. id.

^d Λέγει τοὺς ἐπισκόπους — δωῖσται ὅτι τοὺς πρεσβυτέρους καὶ ἐπισκόπους νοῦται. id.

the Ministry, for the Edifying the Body of Christ, till they came in the Unity of the Faith, and of the Knowledge of the Son of God unto a perfect Man, unto the measure of the Stature of the Fulness of Christ. From^a whence it is evident, that as the Gospel increased and the Church grew up, God, like a wise Nurse, weaned her by degrees from these miraculous Gifts, till at last having arrived at her full Stature in Christ, he left her, as Parents leave their Children when they are grown to be Men, to subsist without extraordinary Helps and Supplies. And therefore as the Scriptures increased, and were dispersed, God ceased by degrees to discover the Doctrines of the Gospel by Inspiration to the Ministers of the Church, and by that time the Writings of the New Testament were made up, and the *Scripture-Canon* as it were sealed; the Successors of the Apostles in the time of *Clement, Polycarp, and Papias*, (the Disciples of *St. John*) and of *Justin Martyr*, pretended to no other way of Revelation, or coming to the knowledge of the Christian Religion, than by the^b Word of God.

And then as the Gospel began to be preached in *Latin* and *Greek*, and native *Romans* and *Gracians* were admitted to be Ministers of the Word; the Gift of Tongues, which was the first of the Gifts of the Spirit, began to grow less necessary, and by degrees to cease. Till at last Churches being gathered in all Provinces of the Empire, and every Nation having Ministers of its own, the Gospel was Preached without Inspiration in all the Languages of the World.

The Gift of Prophecy, as signifying Prediction, continued somewhat longer in the Church, because in these times of Danger and Persecution, it was necessary for Christians (as I shew'd before) to be

^a August. Quæst. ex Evang.

^b *Apostolorum Successores & Discipuli sacrarum Evangeliorum libros, iis qui fidei sermonem nondum audivissent, tradebant.* —
Euseb. Hist. l. 3. c. 37.

forewarned of future Events. ^a *Eusebius* tells us, That *Quadratus* and ^b *Ammius Philadelphensis*, who lived in the beginning of the Second Century, together with the Daughter of *Philip* (the *Apostle*) had the Gift of foretelling Things to come, and cites a Passage out of the Dialogue of *Justin Martyr* with *Trypho* the Jew; wherein he asserts, That *Prophecy* was still to be seen in the Church. *Irenaeus* also, *lib. 2. c. 57.* reckons the Prophetical influx in Visions and Predictions among the spiritual Gifts, which he saith the Disciples in that Age received in different measures for the good of the Church. *Origen* also in his seventh Book against *Celsus*, mentions this among other miraculous Gifts which were then extant. But though at that time the Prophetical Spirit was still in being, yet it was more rare, and soon after ceased altogether in the Church.

We read of the Power of raising the Dead in the forecited Passage of *Irenaeus*, who speaking of his own time saith, *And now the Dead are raised, and have lived among us many Years.* But the Gift of Healing being so beneficial to Mankind continued longer in the Church, (as is evident out of ^c *Cyprian* and ^d *Origen*, but little or no mention is made of it after, till the latter end of the Fourth, and beginning of the Fifth Century, when as Fathers of good Authority tell us, God was pleased to work that and many other ^e Miracles at the Tombs, and by the Reliques of Martyrs, which were the last Miracles in the Church.

As for Miracles (specially so called) they also began to grow scarcer about the beginning of the

^a *Lib. 3. Hist. c. 37.* ^b *Hist. lib. 5. c. 17.* ^c *Ep. ad Donatum.* ^d *Lib. 1. contra Cels.*

^e *Chrys. Hom. 37. in S. Jul. Hom. 43. in S. Mach. de S. Bab. contr. Gentiles Aug. Ep. 137. ad clerum, & pleb. Hippon. Chrys. Hom. 69. Encom. Marr. Ægypt. Aug. l. 22. de civ. dei c. 8. lib. 1. Retract. c. 23.*

Third Century, after God had sufficiently sealed the truth of the Gospel by them, and in spite of the Powers of Hell brought the World to embrace the Christian Faith. But yet, because there still remained an ^a Oracle now and then to be silenced, Pythonists to be exorcised, Magical Spirits to be rebuked, or an insulting and blasphemous Demonaick to be dispossessed, God continued them upon these, and ^b such like occasions longer in the Church; and yet they too ^c ceased about the beginning of the Fifth Century, when ^d Idolatry was almost quite extinguished; and when the Church built Her Faith not on present, but past Miracles, and her *Hieroms, Augustins, and Chrysostoms* like us were not inspired, but studied Divines.

As for the Gift of *Praying and Preaching by the Spirit*, there is no mention made of it in the Ecclesiastical Writers, even where they enumerate the rest of the spiritual Gifts. Unless ^e *Irenæus* comprehend it under the Gift of strange Tongues, with all sorts of which, he saith, many of the Brethren spoke in his time by the Holy Ghost. Neither need we wonder that there is no further Account to be found of it out of the Apostles Writings, since the Christians might learn what to pray for, and how out of the Scriptures of the New Testament, which are an excellent Rule of Devotion, as well as Faith; and since that Gift was also rendred useles by the ^f early general use of Liturgies, wherein the Church

^a Apollo gave Oracles in Daphne, the pleasant Suburbs of Antioch, in the time of Constantius and Julian the Apostate, Chrys. S. Babylâ Mart. contra Gentiles.

^b As upon the Building of the Temple by the Jews in Julian's time. Naz. 2. invect. contra Julian. Marcell. lib. 22.

^c Aug. contra Manich. & de ver. relig. l. 1. retract. c. 13.

^d Εἰ ὅ τις λέγει τις ὅτι καὶ νῦν εἰσι πόλεις τῆ ἰσλῶ δεισιδαιμονίαν ἐπιδεικνύμεναι οὐκ εἰ δώλων μανίαν, πρῶτον μὲν εὐαεθμίης καὶ ὀλίγας ἐρεῖ. Chrys. de S. Babylâ.

^e Euseb. Hist. lib. v. cap. 7. Irenæus, lib. v. cap. 6.

^f Cassand. Liturg. Dr. Ham. View of the new Directory.

made Offices for the Sacraments, for the Ordination of Bishops, Priests and Deacons, for the Catechumens, the Penitents, and possessed Persons, and Supplications and Prayers, and Intercessions, and giving of Thanks for all Men, for Kings, and all that were in Authority in a good and acceptable manner, through the Name of the only Mediator betwixt God and Man, the Man Christ Jesus.

Thus expired these miraculous Gifts of the Spirit, the actual Communication and Exercise of which the Apostle in the 7th Verse of this Chapter, calls *the manifestation of the Spirit*, and saith, that they were given to every Man *ως ες το συμφερον*, for the Benefit and Advantage of the Church. But as the Church grew up from an Infant to her full Stature in Christ, so they grew less useful, till at last some sooner, some later, they were quite taken away. This St. Paul, who could do all Miracles, foretold in the 13th Chapter of this Epistle, wherein he exhorts the *Corinthians* to covet the saving, rather than the miraculous Graces of the Spirit, because these should, but those should never fail. Charity (saith he) is a Gift that never faileth, but other Gifts shall; for whether there be ^a Prophecies they shall fail, or whether there be ^a Tongues they shall cease, or whether there be Knowledge it shall vanish away. For we know what we know by Revelation, but in part, and we Prophesie by Inspiration but in part; but when the perfect Knowledge of the Christian Religion, or the perfect State of the Church is come, then that which is imperfect and obscure shall be done away. Even as when I was a Child I ^b spake as a Child, I ^c un-

^a Si enim Prophetia, & lingua sunt propter susceptionem fidei, fide undique explicata, tanquam superflua cessabunt in presenti, maxime autem in futuro. Theoph.

^b Dicit ἐλάλουν tanquam ad Linguas referat. Id.

^c Hoc ad Prophetias referre videtur. Id.

derstood as a Child, I thought and conceived things as a Child ; but when I became a Man, and to the full use of my Reason, I put away childish Conceptions and Things. For now in this time of spiritual Gifts we see Divine Revelations, as the Prophets did of old, in a dark Enigmatical manner, and by Symbolical representations of things upon the Fancy, and the Mysteries of Religion as in a Glafs ; but hereafter in Heaven we shall see them as it were in the *Mosaical* manner, in a more rational way and more accommodate to human Nature, as it were Face to Face. Now I know things darkly and imperfectly, but then I shall know them clearly, even as I am known of God, whom I shall then see, as he now sees me. To conclude ; There are three abiding in us, Faith, Hope, and Charity ; but the most excellent and desirable of these is Charity.

Having thus discoursed, First, of the kinds of Spiritual Gifts ; and Secondly, of the Number and Variety of that miraculous sort, which is understood in my Text ; and having in the Third place shewed the Reasons which moved God to give them to the Primitive Church, and not to the Churches of later Times, I proceed in the last place to make some improvement from the whole Discourse.

First then I desire you to reflect on the difference betwixt the Saving, and Miraculous Gifts of the Spirit, and then to consider how much more excellent and desirable the former are, than the latter ; and how much rather you ought to covet these than those, although they were extant yet in the Church. As for these, they neither supposed any Saving Grace in the gifted Person, nor necessarily brought any along with them, nor drew any after them : But as ^a St. *Chrysostom* compares them to Riches, so

^a 1 Cor. xii. Hom. 29.

like Riches they tempted Men to ^a Pride, Vanity, and Contempt of their Governors, as also to ^b Envy and hate one another : So that this Apostle was fain to make use of the same Apologue, to allay the Envy of some and the Grief of other *Corinthians* (who had none, or not so many, or not such spiritual Gifts, or not to such a degree as others had) as *Menenius Agrippa* did to appease the Commons of *Rome*, by comparing the Body Politick of the Church to the natural Body; which cannot be all Head, Hand, or Eye, but hath several Members, some more honourable than the other, and all conspire to the good of the whole. Nay, so inconsiderable are these Gifts for themselves, and so unprofitable to any Christian, as to his main concern, that ^c like the Sun and Rain they were given to good and bad; and when they were given to a truly good Christian they could not secure him in a State of Grace; for they could not restrain these *Corinthians* from many grievous Sins, with which the Apostle chargeth them; nor, as it appears from *Heb. vi. 4, 5, 6* Verses, keep others from a final Apostasie from Christ. This, I suppose, was the reason why our Saviour, when his Disciples returned with Joy, saying, *Lord, even the Devils are subject unto us in thy Name*, answer'd them thus: ^d *Rejoice not in this, that the Devils are subject unto you, but rather rejoice that your Names are written in the Book of Life.* To the same purpose speaks this Apostle to the vain *Corinthians*, who valued themselves so much upon the account of their spiritual Gifts: ^e Though, saith he, I could not only speak with all

^a Chrys. in Eph. 4. Hom. 11. Clem. ad Cor. c. 23.

^b Theoph. on 1 Cor. xii. 1.

^c Respons. ad Quæst. 5. ad Orthodox. in Justin. Mart. August. de Serm. domini.

^d Luke x. 17, 18, 19, 20. Aug. in Psal. cxxx.

^e Aug. Tract. 13. in Evang. Joh. qui habet sponsam sponsus est. Cyprian. de unit. Eccles. Nam & prophetare, & demonia excludere,

all the Tongues of Men, but express my Thoughts like Angels, and have not Charity, I should be no better than a musical Instrument of Brass, or a tinkling Cymbal. And though I had the Gift of Prophecy, and understood all Mysteries, and had all Knowledge revealed unto me; and though I had the highest degree of miraculous Faith, so that, as our Lord said, I could remove Mountains, and yet had no Charity with them, I should be good for nothing, nor become in the least more acceptable to God. The Tongues of Men or Angels, to speak in the Apostle's phrase, could have said nothing more plain or emphatical, to shew how much more excellent the saving Graces of the Spirit are, than the infused miraculous Gifts, which can neither render us like God, nor qualify us for the enjoyment of him; and which gave no intrinsic worth to the Persons who formerly had them, nor made them more useful for the Church than acquired Gifts, which are the ordinary means of Faith and Repentance, make us. Suppose thou knewest the Gospel, like the Apostles, by Inspiration, what then? Another Minister, who knows it by Reading and Study is as capable, by the Blessing of God, to serve the Church as thou: And besides, if thou art, like a vain *Corinthian*, ambitious of Inspiration, know that it will add nothing to the Reputation of thy Parts; for a *πνευματικός*, an inspired Man is but the Vessel to the Treasure, the very Instrument and Machine of the Holy Ghost, who can ordain Strength out of the Mouths of Babes and Sucklings, and make a Child, or an Idiot, if he please, preach as well as thee.

Or suppose thou hadst the Spirit of Prediction, what then? The knowledge of Things past being

dere, & virtutes magnas in terris facere, sublimis utique, atque admirabilis res est, non tamen regnum cæleste consequitur quisquis in his omnibus invenitur, si non, &c.

as excellent in it self, and generally more useful to the World than the Knowledge of Things to come, the Historian would have as much to boast of as Thou. Nay, historical Knowledge hath the advantage above the Prophetical, not only in this, that it is more clear and distinct, but that it extends a great deal farther; for the greater Face of *Janus* hath long been set behind, to signifie unto us, that the World is grown Old, and that many more Ages are gone than are to come. But it is an honour to be a Prophet of God? And is it not as great, or greater an honour to be a Minister of the Gospel, a Priest of the new Law, the constant Servant of *Jesus* Christ? But if thou knewest the Burden and Pangs of ^a Prophetical Visions, and the Terror of Prophetical Dreams, thou wouldst, like some of the greatest Prophets of old, desire God, in submission to his Will, to confer that honour on some other Man.

But thou wouldst have the Gift of Healing, why so? Is it that thou wouldst take pleasure in doing Good? For the same reason thou mayest wish, that all thy Fish-ponds were Pools of *Bethesda*, or that thou hadst all the Riches of the World: But if thou hast but Christian Charity, and lovest thy Neighbour, *i. e.* Mankind, as well as thy self, thou art as excellent a Christian, and as acceptable to God as if thou wert an inspired *Æsculapius*, and hadst cured all the Hospitals in the World. Or what if thou hadst this wonderful beneficial Gift? Thou hast contributed nothing to the having of it; for the Bones of *Elisha*, and of the ^b *Milan Martyrs* had that, as well as Thou.

^a *Dan.* x. 8. *Gen.* xv. 12. *Ezek.* iii. 14. *Isa.* xxi. 3. *Habak.* iii. 2. *Jerem.* xxiii. 9.

^b *Gervasius. & Protasius. Aug. lib. 2. de civ. dei c. 8. retract. 1. c. 13.*

But perhaps thou hast a mind to the Gift of Tongues : What if thou hadst it? A well studied Linguist would do the Church as much Service as thee, and would really have more reason to boast of his Learning ; for God can make an Oracle of an *Ass*, and Timber and Stones speak *Latin*, *Hebrew*, and *Greek*.

But if thou couldst do Miracles : What if thou couldst? ^a *Hereticks* and Magicians have done them, and *Judas* did them, and yet was the worst of Men : And many shall say unto me in that Day, *Lord ! Lord ! have we not prophesied in thy Name, and in thy Name done many wonderful Works ? And then will I profess unto them, I never knew you ; depart from me ye workers of Iniquity.*

But thou art a Minister, and wouldst fain preach by Inspiration : Why so? Not out of *Corinthian* Vanity and Ostentation ; for then thou art a vain-glorious Man ; but because thou hast a desire to convert more Souls : But, alas, thou art not sure of that, for the Words of this inspired Apostle were a Stumbling-block unto the *Jews* and a Scandal to the *Greeks*, even the Savour of Death unto many who heard him. And the Souls of Thousands, who heard inspired Sermons from Christ and his Apostles, and saw them also work Miracles, lie roaring now in the Flames of Hell.

But to pray by the Spirit is a most desirable Gift : So it would be indeed if thou, like the Novice-converts of old, knewest not *how*, nor for *what* to pray as thou oughtest. But thou canst cry *Abba, Father*, without Inspiration ; and thou mayest make Prayers, and Supplications, and Intercessions, and Giving of Thanks for all Men without Inspiration ; which if thou hadst it, would not make thy Prayers more excellent in themselves, or more acceptable in the sight of God. For whoso-

^a Irenæus. lib. 2. c. 56, 57. lib. 1. c. 1, 8, 9.

ever hath a devout Soul, and approaches God with that reverence which is due to his infinite Majesty, and heartily asks what he would obtain in the Name of *Jesus* Christ, his conceived, nay his *Book* Devotion shall prevail as much at the Throne of Grace, as if it were inspired. But inspired Prayers are a Testimony of God's love: So generally speaking, I believe they were; but so are Crosses and Afflictions (which immediately proceed not from our own Sin and Folly) and yet thou art not desirous of them, although they are signs of Adoption, or publick Testimonials by which God hath declared to his Church, (which he never did of inspired Persons) that ^a afflicted Men are not Bastards, but Sons. From all which it appears, how much more excellent and desirable the saving Graces of the Spirit are, than all these pompous miraculous Gifts, in which there is really no intrinsecal Excellence; nothing why we should desire or expect them farther, than as they may be Useful for the Church, Instruments of Religion, and Motives to Faith and Repentance in defect of ordinary Means, and acquired Gifts. All which I would have those especially to consider, whose enthusiastical Tempers, or Educations encline them first to admire, and then to conceit these miraculous Gifts, till by insensible degrees they impose upon their own Imaginations, and commence within themselves illuminated Men.

Secondly, I proceed to shew what little reasons the *Romish* Doctors have to make ^b *Miracles a Sign of the true Church*. For Miracles were formerly wrought for Signs, to confirm the Authority of the

^a Heb. xii. 5, 6, 7, 8, 9.

^b *Cur (inquiunt) nunc illa miracula, quæ prædicatis facta esse, non fiunt? Possem quidem dicere necessaria fuisse prius quam crederet mundus ad hoc, ut crederet mundus; quisque adhuc prodigia, ut credat, inquit, magnum est ipse prodigium, qui mundo credente, non credit.* Aug. de civ. dei l. 22. c. 8.

Apostles and their Assistants and Successors, and to seal the Truth of that new Doctrine which they were to preach about the World. Therefore to suppose that the Church stands always in need of Miracles, is to suppose her to be still in a State of Minority, and her Doctrine to be always a publishing to the World, or else to suppose, that infinite Wisdom may become impertinent, and seal the same Truths ten thousand times over. Indeed, as they argue, in the Church of the *Jews* there were always under the first Temple, Miracles to be found, because their *Theocratical* Constitution of Church and State was miraculous, God as their King, obliging himself to make known his Pleasure to them in Civil and Military, as well as in Ecclesiastical Matters by *Voices from Heaven, Oracles and Prophecies* (as other Princes do by Proclamations and Messages) and their Prophets were always to work Signs and Wonders to prove the Truth of their Mission, and sometimes the certainty of what they foretold should come to pass. But then besides the Miracles which belonged to the nature of their *Theocratical* Government, God wrought others for them, and among them, to render himself and that particular Church, more conspicuous in the Eyes of the *Gentile* World. Hither we may refer their miraculous Victories by single Men, or Armies, over their Enemies, which God wrought to convince them by sensible Experiments of his Omnipotence, that of all the *Divinities* of the Eastern World he alone was the true God. But had the *Law* been published among all Nations, like the Gospel, and *Judaism* become the Universal Religion of the World, Miracles in time would have grown out of use; as indeed they grew very rare after the *Jews* were dispersed among the Nations, and their Law was translated into *Greek*, which at the time of the Translation was become the most general Language of the World.

Thirdly,

Thirdly, I proceed to shew you how unreasonably the Church of *Rome* hath acted, in verifying the Fanatical Pretensions of so many gross Impostors and Enthusiasts as she hath done to Inspiration; Prophecy, Visions, Dreams, familiar Converses with God, and the glorified Person of our Saviour, working of Wonders, Communion with Saints and Angels; Raptures, Impulses, and all other sorts of miraculous Gifts that we read of in the Primitive Church. Such as these were *Dominic*, *Francis of Assize*, *Francis of Pole*, *Francis Xaverius*, *Ignatius* the Founder of the Jesuits, *Genvieve*, *Tiresia*, *Catherin of Siena*, *Brigit*, and many more of both Sexes, whom she hath not only canonized for Saints, but to the great Scandal of the Christian Religion, hath incorporated religious Societies of Men and Women to live according to their pretended inspired Rules. For which not only the common People, and the Brethren and Sisters of the Orders, but many of their Learned Doctors pretend to have almost, as great a Veneration as for the Gospel it self.

Fourthly, I proceed to shew you upon what a sandy Foundation the *Court-writers* of the Church of *Rome* build the Pope's Infallibility. For it cannot well be accounted for without the Principle of immediate Inspiration, which according to the Doctrine I have now Preached, neither he, nor any other *Bishop* or *Presbyter* of the Church hath warrant from the Scriptures to pray for, or expect. I say it is a most dangerous and Fanatical Pretension, which is so far from having any ground in Scripture, that it makes it a most imperfect and useless Rule of Faith, and destroys the old Rule of determining Controversies laid down by *Vincentius Lirinensis*, and with it the certainty of the Christian Belief, which was fixed above sixteen hundred Years ago; and instead of being a means of ending Controversies, as some Popish Writers pretend, it introduces everlasting

lasting Scepticism into all the parts of Divinity, by making Truth or Falshood, Good and Evil, Light and Darknefs, Sweet and Bitter; nay, what fhall I fay? by making right and wrong God and *Belial*, Christ and Anti-christ, depend upon the Chair of a fingle Man.

In the Fifth place, let me fhew you what a dangerous, and precarious Principle that is, which afferts, That immediate Revelation, or Inspiration is not ceafed, but is a ftanding and perpetual Gift in the Church of Chrift, belonging to the very fubftance of the Gofpel-Covenant, and of indifpenfable neceffity to the whole Body, and every Member thereof. And that this Spirit of immediate Revelation or fpiritual Light, is not like the *Spirits* in Primitive Times, to be tryed by the ^b Scriptures and Reafon, but that both of them are to be tryed by it. This Doctrine differs from the preceding only in this, that that makes only the Bifhop of *Rome*, but this makes every private Chriftian a Pope: And as it utterly overthrows the Authority of the Scriptures, and makes them an ufelefs Rule of Faith; fo hath it already cashiered the Ufe of the Sacraments, and annulled the Ministerial Orders, contrary to the Precepts and Precedents in the Gofpel, and the Practice of God's Univerfal Church. And when time fhall ferve, it can as effectually convert the Profefors of it into down-right Papifts, confiftently with their own Principles; for they have nothing more to do, than to fay, that the Spirit, or Light within, hath told them that the Church of *Rome* is the one H. Catholick Church, and that *ſupra hanc Petram* belongs to the Pope. As this Doctrine was firft privately fowed among us by ^c Popifh Emiſſaries, fo hath it been published in our and other Countries, by thoſe

^b *Barclay's Theſes, or, Apologia Theolog.*

^c *Boxes and Firebrands, pag. 15, &c. Printed, 1680.*

who were bred among the Papists, as by *Robert Barclay*, who was for some time educated in the Scottish Convent at *Paris*, and *Labbade* a Jesuit defroq'd.

In the next place to mention will be sufficient to confute the *Pseudo-Prophetical* Spirits of this Age, such as *Nayler*, *Venner*, and *Muggleton*, with his Companion *Reeve*, who call themselves the Lords Two last Witnesses, and Prophets, and have framed many Tracts and Letters from *Jesus* and the Holy Spirit, a Collection of which may be had in Print. I deny not, but God is free to send Prophets when he pleases, and that he may do so whensoever his own Purposes, and the Exigence of the Church doth require it; but then whensoever he sends them, he will, as he hath always done, send them with the Power of working Signs and Wonders; and whensoever they shall come, we shall have a right to try them by the Scriptures, and Catholick Tradition as a *Test*. But for these, and the *German* Prophets, who pretended to Inspiration and Prophecy without Signs; to Voices from Heaven, which few or none heard; and strange Apparitions, which few or none saw but themselves; and who preached other Doctrines than what the Apostle had preached, they were Enthusiasts or Impostors, or a composition of both; and had they first appeared in the Church of *Rome*, his Holiness had likely carested them for great *Saints* and *Prophets*, offered them the Complement of a new *Order*, and so have obliged them, as he hath done many more by the same politick Arts, to devote themselves to his Service, and declare him to be *Vice-Deus*, *Vice-Christus*, God, and Christ's only Vicar over the Church.

In the next place let me observe unto you, that among all the *miraculous Gifts of the Spirit* recited in this *Chapter*, or any other place of the Gospel, there is no mention made of *Heroical impulse*, by

which Men were sometimes irresistably moved from the Spirit, under the *Jewish* Oeconomy, to execute Judgment in an extra-judicial manner upon the idolatrous Nations, the devoted Vassals of Satan, and other the Enemies of God. For God being the ^a *Political* King, and Legislator of the *Jews*, did as other absolute Monarchs do, in some special exigencies, send Men with extraordinary supra-legal Commissions to do present Execution upon the Enemies of his People, and dangerous Offenders, without staying for the ordinary Process by Law. But our Saviour, one end of whose coming was to put an ^b end to the *Jewish* Oeconomy, and who *came not to destroy Mens lives, but to save them*, gave no such Gifts unto Men. No, there is to be no *Fire from Heaven*, no *Joshua's*, nor *Phineas's* under the Christian Dispensation. Accordingly the first Apostolical Ages of Wonder were utterly ignorant of *killing Impulse* and *Zeal*, which I could not but observe, to the utter detestation of *Christian Assassins*; the *Clements* and *Ravilliacs* on one hand, and the ^c *Melvils* and *Mitchels* on the other.

To proceed; Let us a little more particularly reflect upon that blasphemous Doctrine of the *Quakers* (now by their Industry, and our Contempt of them become a numerous Sect) concerning a *spiritual Ministry* and *spiritual Worship*, whereby they pretend that the Holy Ghost comes down upon their Assemblies, as it did in the Apostles time, and moves them to preach and pray by Inspiration, without any regard to Condition or Sex. Hence when they meet together they sit hanging their Heads in a silent dumb manner, till the Spirit, as they pre-

^a *Isa.* xxxiii. 22. *Ezek.* xx. 11. *Numb.* xxxi. 28, 37, 40. *1 Chron.* xxix. 11.

^b *Eph.* ii. 14. *Dan.* ix. 26, 27. *Acts* x. 34, 35.

^c *Knox's History.* *Ravilliac Redivivus*, and the History of the late Archbishop of *St. Andrews* his Murder in the Spirit of *Papery*.

tend, shall move some Body ; it is indifferent be it a Man or Woman, to preach or pray. Accordingly they call their Preaching, *Prophefying* ; and precariously say that they have the *Spirit of Adoption*, by which they call God Father ; and that the Spirit in the inspired Minister *maketh Intercession for them with inutterable Groans*. That they groan sufficiently, we grant ; for sometimes in their Meetings they do nothing else : But if their groaning, or vocal Devotions be from the Spirit, how comes it to pass that the Spirit to convince us, never moves them, as it did in the Apostles Days, to Pray and Prophefie in unknown Tongues ? When we shall see in their Assemblies, as the unbelieving *Jews* and *Gentiles* did in the Primitive Christian Meetings, that they have the Gift of Tongues, and the Gift of interpreting thereof ; when together with the Gift of Tongues, we shall see that they have the other miraculous Gifts, which the Primitive Christians had in their Meetings ; when we shall see that they shew themselves to be *Prophets*, and *spiritual* in Conformity and Obedience to the Rules of the Apostle, as the Commandment of God ; particularly in receiving what he ^a commanded as a standing Canon concerning Women, that they should keep Silence in the Churches, and not be suffered to speak there, either in Teaching or asking Questions. Again, when with all this they shall preach no other Doctrine than what the Apostle had preached, and the Catholick Church received. And lastly, when they shall cease to reject the Holy Sacraments of the Church, and prepare themselves to enter into it according to Christ's holy Institution by Baptism ; then, and not till then we must believe them all to be Impostors or Enthusiasts, and blasphemers of the Holy Ghost.

Therefore in the next place let us consider, what

^a 1 Cor. xiv. 34, 35. and eight Years after, 1 Tim. ii. 12.

an horrible Sin it is to counterfeit or pretend to any of the Gifts of the Holy Ghost; in particular the *Spirit of Praying and Preaching*, which, with the *Gift of Faith*, as it is taken for *inspired Courage and Boldness*, is most easie to be counterfeit-ed of all the miraculous Gifts. But first let us make some Reflection on the Pretenders to the *Spirit of Praying and Preaching*, under whom I comprehend not only those, whom I mentioned above, but another sort of *spiritual Juglers*, who when they are ashamed to talk, like the lowest Form of Enthusiasts, in a plain Fanatical strain, and so apparently blaspheme the Holy Ghost, yet invent such uncouth ambiguous Terms in Divinity, and so artificially contrive the Stile and Phrase of their religious Discourses, as to beget an Opinion of their Followers, that they pray and preach by Inspiration; and so besides the dishonour they reflect on the Christian Religion and the Holy Ghost, maintain the Schisms which they have made, under the colour of more spiritual Ordinances and Worship, and so acquire that Veneration to themselves, which was wont to be given to inspired Men. One equivocal Phrase which is commonly in the Mouths and Writings of these Sanctimonious Men is the *Spirit of Preaching* and the *Spirit of Prayer*, though by an *Hebraism* in *English*, it ought now to signifie no more than the Skill, or Habit of Praying and Preaching; yet these Usurpers (for so most of them are) of the Holy Ministry so use it, that the deluded People generally take it in a more obvious sense for Praying and Preaching by immediate Inspiration from the Holy Ghost. To this purpose they talk much of the *in-comings*, *out-lettings*, and *in-dwellings* of the Spirit, and hath taught their Disciples to object, That to *pray by a Form doth stint the Spirit*; and by these and other like Phrases, whereof store may be found in *Rutherford's Letters*, and the Writings of the *Independents*: Not to men-

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tion any more, they have made their Followers take it for granted, that extemporary Prayers, especially as they are spoken and acted by them, are the effect of Inspiration, and by consequence, that themselves are immediately inspired. This Error concerning the extemporary Spirit of Prayer, hath been the Cause of much ^a Mischief to the Church, and of much dishonour to the Name of God. It hath caused Men to have a mean Opinion of Forms, although our Saviour not only taught his Disciples to pray by a Form, but prayed by a Form when he hang'd upon the Cross. It hath made them reject all *Liturgies* and *Liturgical Offices*, contrary to the Practice of God's Universal Church; nay, it hath made these pretended *πνευματικοί*, not only dis-use the *Lord's Prayer* it self, but forbid the Use of it as Superstitious, Idolatrous, and ^c a Papistical Charm. By this the People of these Kingdoms have been led into the most *unnatural* Schism and Rebellion that ever was; not to mention the later *Murders*, *Rebellions*, and *Covenants* which the Separatists from our *Sister Church* have committed, raised, and carried on by the help of this delusion; and they may Preach and Pray the People to what they please, as long as they hold them Captive under this Error, which is not only inconsistent with what I have now delivered concerning the Gifts of the Holy Ghost, but contrary to the practice of the Catholick Church; and it may be confuted, would People but reflect, by the Example of the *Pharisees* among the *Jews*; and the flagitious lives of many Christians, as of ^d *Basili-*

^a Conc. Milevil. 2. can. 12. *Placuit, ut preces, quæ probatæ fuerint in concilio ab omnibus celebrentur, nec aliæ omnino dicantur in Ecclesiâ ne fortè aliquid contra fidem vel per ignorantiam, vel per minus studium sit compositum.* See also Con. Carth. 3. c. 23.

^b See Barrow's Discovery of False Churches.

^c See Dr. Owen's Life. ^d *Casaub. of Enthusiasm.*

des the bloody Tyrant of *Muscovy*, the late *Usurper* of these Three Kingdoms, the *Founder* of the *Jesuits*, *Labbadé*, Major ^a *Weer*, and Captain *Venner*, who of all Enthusiasts or Impostors that ever pretended to Pray by the Spirit, were in this sense the most powerful and eloquent; for they had *Words* and *Tears*, and *Sighs* at command, and so bewitched the People by their false Raptures and *spiritual-like* Devotions, as to pass for Men extraordinarily expired.

Which brings me to reflect on the Arrogance and Presumption of some sort of *Ministers*, who warranting themselves from the Promises which God made of his special Presence to the Prophets and Apostles, and the Spirit of *supernatural Courage and Confidence*, which rested upon them by virtue thereof, have treated Kings and Princes with a counterfeit sort of Prophetical boldness, as if God, as he spoke to the Prophet *Ezekiel*, *had hardened their Foreheads like Flint or Adamant*, or had made them, as he told *Jeremiah* he would make him, like an *Iron-Pillar*, and *Brazen-Wall* against the whole *Land*, both against King and Priests, and Princes and People. Hence with incomparable Rudeness and Insolence, they have contrary to all Rules of Christian Charity, libelled and upbraided instead of humbly reproving their King, and all under the Pretence of *preaching the Word with boldness*; and as if God had sent them on purpose, as he sent *Nathan* to *David*, *Moses* to *Pharaoh*, or *Elijah* to *Ahab*, &c. they have unpersecuted called Protestant Princes *Persecutors*, *Idolaters*, and *Jeroboams* to their Faces, and told them that God would destroy them and their House. Nay, they have presumed in God's Name, to lay *civil Injunctions* and *Prohibitions* upon them and their Courts of Justice; and when the Magistrate hath commanded the People to do one thing,

^a In *Ravil. Rediv.*

they have boldly charged them to do another. With the like counterfeit Spirit of Apostolical boldness, but of real unchristian Impudence and Railing, they have spoken evil of Civil and Ecclesiastical *Dignities*, to the great dishonour of God and his Prophets, and Apostles, who never spoke nor acted any thing by virtue of any special Mission, and the Spirit of Courage, the *παρρησία* which did attend them in it, but what was consistent with Gentleness, Moderation, Humanity, Duty, and Love.

In the last place give me leave to shew you, how much some Authors have injured the Christian Religion, and abused the unlearned part of the World, who writing the Lives of some modern *Enthusiastical* Preachers, have represented them as endowed with most of these wonderful spiritual Gifts. Those who desire to be satisfied in this particular, may consult the Life of Dr. *Samuel Winter* ^a Provost in the late Times, of *Trinity College* by *Dublin*, and what
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^a In the ninth Page of the *Preface* the Author saith, That he saw the Sky open, and heard a Voice which said to him, That neither he, nor his should ever want. Which cannot be true, for his Son went a Begging: See p. 41. of the Book. In the 10th Page God assured him, that he should have a safe Voyage into *Ireland*, and convert many Souls there: See p. 41. Once when he prayed for a sick Person in another Land, he had an assurance of the Parties recovery, by an *audible Voice*, and a *glorious Brightness* which shined round him, *ibid.* When he was a School-Boy, God (he thought) assured him by a *vocal Answer*, that he heard his Prayer, p. 2. When he was very Sick he assured his Wife that he should not die, because God had not fulfilled a certain Promise which he made to him, p. 4. He conversed with Angels in a Dream, and had shewed unto him the exceeding weight of Glory which is laid up in Heaven for God's chosen Ones, p. 17. He lay a whole Day in an heavenly Rapture, and desired his Wife, a Minister, and other Friends to tell him, whether he were in the Body, or out of the Body, for he could not tell, p. 24. Before he prayed with Coll. Jones's Wife, when she was Sick, he asked her whether she had Faith to be healed? And when he had done praying, he assured her she should live, p. 44. His Hearers could tell by his Prayers for sick Persons, whether

is written of old Mr. ^a *Welsh*, and other *Scottish* Ministers, In the *fulfilling of the Scripture*, printed, 1669. From whence, not to mention ^b other Examples, it will appear, that unless God in Mercy rebuke that Spirit of Enthusiasm which is gone out amongst us in these Three Kingdoms, we may have as many *Legends* from some sort of Protestants, as we have formerly had from the Church of *Rome*.

There are other excellent Uses which might be made of what I have said upon this Subject. 1. Concerning the greatness of the Apostolical or Episcopal Power, as we find it exercised by this Apostle

whether they should recover or not, p. 47, 48. He knew the same himself, p. 50. When his Wife lay under a Temptation to turn *Anabaptist*, God assured him by Prayer, that he should be quickly satisfied from Heaven, p. 51. Mrs. *Winter's* Sisters Husband lying very sick at *London*, she sent to the Doctor at *Dublin* to pray for him, but before he could be persuaded to pray, he retired privately, to know of God if he were yet alive: And after Prayer assured the Company, that he should recover, p. 52, 53. Once praying in imitation of *Abraham's* Intercession for *Sodom*, as he kneeled against a Post in the Room, he saw a great shining Light about him, and perfectly heard a Voice, saying, *The Nations shall be spared for ten thousand righteous sake*, p. 56. He used to pray for things, and have his Answer before he rose from his Knees, and immediately give Thanks thereupon, p. 56. He often heard Voices, when none heard them but himself, according to *Acts* xxii. 9. p. 57.

^a Whom that Author calls a *Man of God*, and saith, That Mr. *Rutherford* called him the heavenly *Prophetical* and *Apostolical* *Man of God*. He struck a Man dead upon the place, as St. *Peter* did *Ananias* and *Saphira* with a Word, p. 252. He told one *John Steward* of *Aire*, who came to visit him in Prison, that the Plague of God was broken out in that Place, and bid him hasten Home, and cause *Hugh Kennedy* Provost of that Town, to convene the People in the Streets, and pray together, and the Lord should hear *Hugh Kennedy* and remove that stroke. Which (saith he) fell out in every thing as the *Man of God* had foretold, *ibid*. At the Siege of *St. Jane de Angeli* he desired the Cannoneer to discharge such a piece of Cannon, assuring him, that God should direct the Shot, p. 254. He astonished the King of *France* with a few words, and made him say, *Surely, this is a Man of God*, p. 255.

^b See the Life and Death of *Mary Symson* of *Norwich*, by *John Collins*, 1649. and of Mrs. *Wright* of *Worcester*.

over those who were inspired. For by ^a virtue of that Ecclesiastical Authority, which he and the other Apostles received from Christ, and derived upon their Successors the Bishops, as Governors of the Church, he silenced the *Prophetesses*, regulated the speaking of the *Prophets*, commanded that not above two or three *inspired Linguists* should speak at one Meeting, and that not altogether, but every one in his turn. But if there happen'd to be no Interpreter, then that they should keep all silence in the Congregation, and only speak mentally to themselves. In a word, he commanded that all things should be done decently, regularly, and according to his appointment. He reprov'd them for coveting the Gift of Tongues, and told them plainly, that if any Man thought himself a Prophet, or any other ways inspired, he should shew himself to be such in receiving his Orders, as the Commandments of God.

Secondly, Concerning the usefulness of human Learning, and the necessity of erecting Schools and Universities for the teaching thereof: For the Christian Religion cannot be supported against its Adversaries without human Learning *inspired*, or *acquired*. And therefore, as the Apostles and Apostolical Preachers died, God supplied their Mortality, by calling Philosophers and other Learned Men, to the rational Defence of the Gospel against *Jews*, Heathens and Hereticks, whom the former had redargued not so much by *Words of Man's Wisdom*, as by *the demonstration of the Spirit, and of Power*. Nay, among the *Jews* themselves there were ^b Schools of the Prophets, in which, as the *Jewish* Writers agree, the Youth

^a From all which it is evident, that the *Spirit*, properly so called, was stinted, limited, and confin'd.

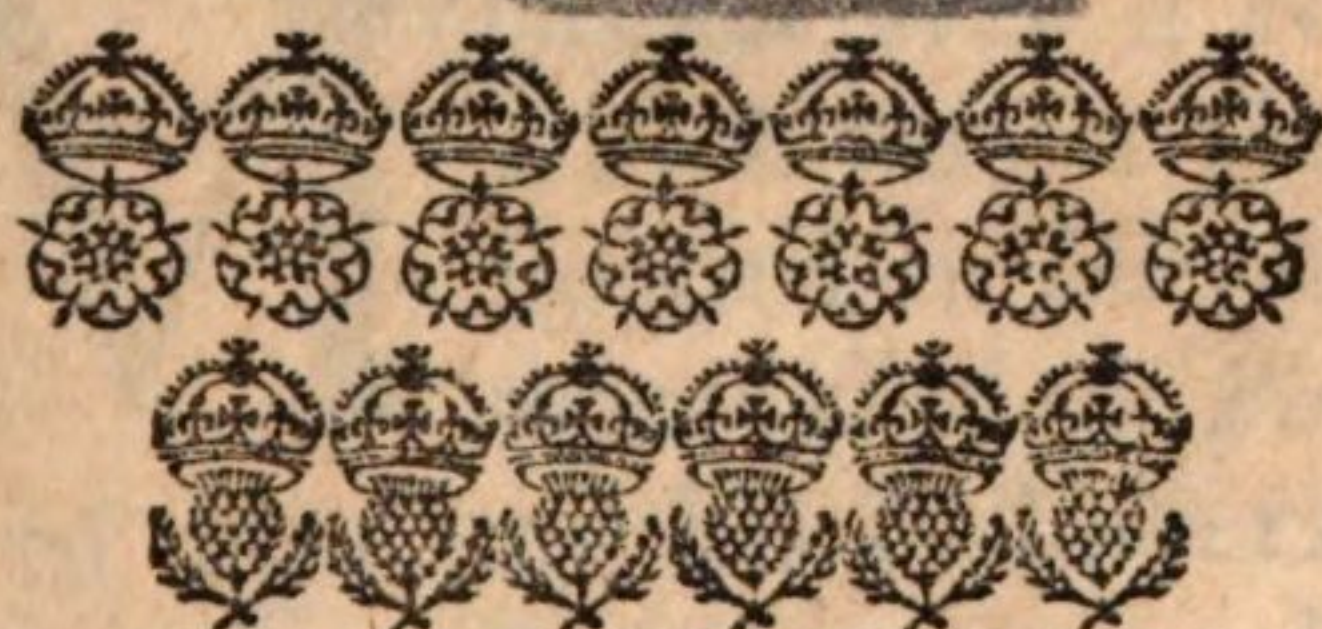
^b These Schools of Prophetical Education were at *Naioth* in *Ramah*, 1 *Sam.* xix. 19, 20. at *Jerusalem*, 2 *Kings* xxii. 14. at *Bethel* and *Jericho*, 2 *King.* ii. 3, 4, 5. and at *Gilgal*, 2 *King.* iv. 38.

were trained up by Study and Discipline for the reception of the Prophetical Spirit ; which, according to *Maimonides*, whom the *Jews* call the second *Moses*, rarely came but upon Persons so qualified and prepared. And I dare boldly say, were it not for the *Two Schools of the Prophets in our Israel*, that the Nation would soon be over-run with Ignorance, and Religion quite born down with *Popery*, and other monstrous Sects among us, which have increased with the same proportion that human Learning hath been decried, and the *Two Universities dis-used*.

Thirdly, Concerning the Goodness and Wisdom of God : His *Goodness* in sending his Spirit with miraculous Gifts to supply the necessities of his Infant Church ; and his *Wisdom* in taking away these extraordinary Means, when ordinary Means were to be had. But I have been too tedious already. God grant that what I have now delivered so plainly on this Subject, may conduce to make us all have right and worthy Apprehensions of the *Christian Religion* ; which however it hath suffered, and still suffers by some Mens Enthusiastical Notions and Pretensions ; yet ingenuous, observant and teachable Souls (and some such, I hope, there are among the most erroneous Sects) will easily discern from the frame and tenour of this Discourse, that, as it was designed by its blessed Founder, so it really is the most rational, sober, and regular Institution that he could have given to the Sons of Men.

THE
HISTORY
OF
MONTANISM.

By a LAY-GENTLEMAN.



Κώμη τις ἐν λέξει ἐν τῇ κτὶ τῇ φρυγίαν Μυσία, καλε-
μένη Ἀρδαβαν τὸνομα. Ἐνθα φασί τινα τῷ νεοπίστων πρῶ-
τως Μοντανὸν τὸνομα κτὶ Γράτον Ἀσίας ἀνθύπαλον, ἐν ἐπι-
θυμία ψυχῆς ἀμέλει φιλοπρωΐας δόνη πάρεδον εἰς εαυ-
τὸν πᾶν ἀντικειμένῳ, πνευμαλοφορηθῆναι τε καὶ αἰφνιδίως ἐν
καλοχῇ τινὶ καὶ παρεκτάσει γενόμενον, ἐνθουσιᾶν, ἄρξατο
τε λαλεῖν καὶ ξενοφωνεῖν, ὡς τὸ κτὶ ὡς ἰσχυροῖν καὶ κτὶ διαδο-
χὴν ἀνωθεν τῇ Ἐκκλησίᾳ ἔθος δῆθεν περφηλεύοντα. Euseb.
Hist. Eccl. l. 5. c. 16.

THE
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By A. A. GENTILEMAN.



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MONTANISM.

ARTICLE I.

Of the Rise of Montanus, and his Spirit

Sect. 1. **M**ontanus was a Native of *Mysia*, which was at that time comprehended in *Phrygia*; whence ^a he was called a *Phrygian*, and the Religion of him and his Followers ^b the *Phrygian Heresy*, and they *Cataphrygians*. It is a Mistake, that he was born at *Pepuza* in *Phrygia*, which was the only Place where he and his Disciples used most frequently to meet: For we are assured by *Asterius Urbanus*, an Author capable of the best Informations, that he was of a certain Village or Borough in the *Asiatick Mysia*, call'd *Ardaban*, or *Ardabab*, bordering upon *Phrygia*, ἐν τῇ κτ' τῶν Φρυγίαν Μυ-

^a Euseb. Pamp. Hist. Eccles. l. 5. c. 16. f. 180.

^b Id. l. 5. c. 3. p. 168. Lib. 4. c. 27. p. 149. August. de Hær. 26. Theodor. Hær. fab. lib. 3. c. 2.

cia. Now this *Asiatick Mysia* being not a particular Province, but only a Canton of the Province of *Phrygia*, he was always called by the Name of the Province whereof he was, and in which he appeared as a great Teacher and Reformer sent from God. So that the *Phrygian*, meaning thereby *Montanus*, and the Sect of the *Phrygians*, continually occur in the Ecclesiastical Remains of those Times; but no notice is taken of *Mysia*, or of the *Mysians*, in all his History.

Sect. 2. As for the *Time* either of his Birth or of his Conversion to Christianity, it is uncertain altogether: But there are grounds to suppose, that about the Middle of the Second Century, or soon afterward, he made himself known, not only in his own Country, but in the Churches also thereabouts: For he had hardly embrac'd the Christian Faith, but his great Austerities of Life made him to be particularly taken notice of, and to be had in esteem among many of the most zealous (but indiscreet) Christians. And as he had a Zeal very extraordinary for that Holy Religion into which he was baptiz'd, he would needs set up for a mighty Reformer in the Church; but wanting Solidity of Judgment, and Coolness of Thought, he was apt to be driven by every Impulse that seized him: and if it seem'd but to have a good End, he matter'd not how strange, or how impracticable soever it might appear. For as he was indefatigable in what he once undertook to promote, so there was likewise such an Opiniativeness and Inflexibility in his natural Temper, as nothing could ever bend: Which as it came to be directed towards religious Matters, was easily taken by a great many for Christian Fortitude and Faith?

Sect. 3. Thus then *Montanus* having got a Reputation of no mean Sanctity by his extraordinary way of Living, and his Zeal for the Establishment of the Churches, according to the most perfect Model,

Model, he thereupon gave too much way to the Surprize of the grand Adversary, by a disorderly Ambition after the Dignities of the Church, tho' not with any evil Design possibly at the first; but that he might be hereby in a Capacity, as he thought, of serving the Church and Spouse of Christ with greater Advantage; that is, by bringing back those that should be under his Charge to their *first Love*, and strengthening the things that were *ready to die*.

Sect. 4. But the Serpent quickly insinuated himself into him under this Disguise; while that he remembered not the Reproof given by our Blessed Lord to two of his Disciples on this very Head; being transported by an immoderate and irregular Zeal, that was the Fuel to his ^a Ecclesiastical Ambition, as well as it had been to theirs. Whereupon he was possessed by a *strange Spirit*, instead of the true Spirit of God. Which Spirit seizing him of a sudden was wont to Agitate him, just as if he were a distracted Person: And he continued all the while that the Spirit thus acted in him without the use of his Reason; and had, they say, no command over his own Members and Organs. In which Paræsttick Fits he utter'd a world of new and surprizing Things, but with little or no Connexion. For it appears from what Accounts we have remaining of him, that his pretended Inspirations were after a very roving and abrupt manner, somewhat imitating indeed the loftiness of the Prophectic Stile of the Divinely Inspired, and sometimes even striving to exceed them: But falling vastly short, as the best judges of Antiquity did at that time determine, even while the Miraculous and Apostolical Gifts are acknowledged to have remained in the Church.

^a Φιλοπρωτεία. Euseb.

Sect. 5. When *Montanus* began to Prophecy, and to fall into Extasie after this manner, it is impossible to know exactly: For as much as while he utter'd nothing contrary to the Catholick Faith, or to the Discipline and Government of the Church, he might for some time pass pretty well unobserved. And hence it is, that Authors are so little agreed about the Rise of his Order and Sect. These began with their Enthusiasms to disturb the Tranquillity of the Church, according to *Eusebius*, in the Year of our Lord CLXX, being the Eleventh of the Reign of *M. Aurelius*, and the Fourth of the Pontificate of *St. Soter*. But *Epiphanius* says ^a, That the Church of *Thyatira* was entirely corrupted with the Heresy of the *Cataphrygians*, within about XCIII Years after the Death and Resurrection of Christ. According to which Account they must at least have begun within XXVI Years of the Second Century, and so many Years also after *St. John* the Apostle. But there's also a Third Account of their Rise ^b, which is betwixt these Two; whereby it is placed in the XIXth Year of *Antoninus Pius*; that is, about *An. Dom.* CLVI or CLVII. This also is mention'd by *Epiphanius*.

Sect. 6. The famous *Blondell* ^c is not satisfied with either of these Accounts, and will have this Sect to have begun at, or about the Year CXLI, when *Cratus* was Pro-consul of *Asia*, *St. Apollinaris* of *Hierapolis*, having, he says, inform'd us that it was under his Proconsulate. But then *Blondell* tells us, not what Authorities he had for making this *Cratus* to be Proconsul in that Year. Neither has ^d *Baronius* given us his, who it seems drew *Blondell* into this Sentiment. True it is, he mentions *Cassiodorus*, as placing one *Gratus* Consul in the IVth Year of *Antoninus*, who then indeed might be Proconsul

^a Panar. l. i. c. 33. p. 455. ^b Epiph. Panar. xlviii. c. i. p. 404.
^c Blondell Sibyl. lib. 2. c. 2. p. 134. ^d Annal. c. i. Ann. 173.
 of

of *Asia* the ensuing Year, according to the Regulations made for that purpose. But against this there is a considerable difficulty from the Consular *Fasti* themselves, which make him not Consul till some Years after, even in CXLVI, or the Xth of *Antoninus*. And indeed there can hardly any thing be more intricate, than to find out the true Date of the Rise of *Montanism*, amidst the variety of Conjectures and critical Remarks upon it.

Sec^t. 7. However *Baronius* has endeavour'd to reconcile these different Sentiments, and especially to harmonize St. *Epiphanius* and *Eusebius* together; by distinguishing the Time wherein *Montanus* did first appear to work Signs and Miracles, either by the Operation of God, as the Annalist supposes he might at the first, or else by that of the Devil transformed; and that in such a manner as no Body was able to discern, because both his Life and Doctrine were Holy and Blameless in all appearance: And the time when it began to be doubted concerning the Spirit which operated in him, and moved him after so wonderful a manner, whether it were a good Spirit or a bad one; (but in such wise nevertheless, that the Sentiments of the Orthodox, or Catholicks, were much divided about it:) And a Third time, when all the Catholicks were generally unanimous in the condemnation of it, and in driving it, together with as many as were possessed by it out of the Church; which he makes to fall in the XIth Year of the Reign of *Marcus Aurelius*, according to *Eusebius*. But the ^a *Alexandrian* Chronicle places this later than any, even under the Consulate of *Mamertinus* and *Rufus*; that is, in the III^d Year of *Commodus*; which is no less than Forty Years after the Calculation of *Blondell*, and Ten Years lower than *Eusebius* has put it. This therefore must refer either to the first spreading of *Mon-*

^a Chr. Alex. p. 614, 616.

anism in *Egypt*, where it took an early rooting ; or else to some Council or Councils held that Year in order to its suppression.

ARTICLE II.

Of the Montanist Spirit, while the Bond of Catholick Unity was not violated.

Sect. 1. **N**OW at the same time that *Montanus* began to appear, and to set up his high Pretensions both for Prophecy and Miracle, it pleased God to grant to his Church, in pursuance of the Promise given her through his Beloved Son, many extraordinary Graces ; and among the rest, in particular, that of the Gift of Prophefying, as taken in the strictest Sense of the Word. Which appear'd about this Time, or a little before, in *St. Quadratus* the Apologist, and in *Ammia* a holy Woman of *Philadelphia*, of whom we have yet no remains in History left us ; any more than we have of many others, who likewise were endowed with the true Spirit of Prophecy, and with other divine Gifts for the Edification of the Church. Now that which render'd this Artifice of the Enemy the more dangerous, was the extreme difficulty there was to discern the False from the True Spirit of Prophecy ; of which there were not many that were capable judges, upon whom the Spirit of Wisdom and Discernment rested ; and who had their spiritual Senses exercised for this end.

Sect. 2. Thus it came to pass, that in the beginning there was no small Division upon this Head, as has been mentioned among the Christians of *Asia*. And those who were the first Witnesses of this extraordinary Appearance, were not all of
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the same Opinion, so long as they kept within the Unity of the Church, and violated not the Bond of Catholick Peace; but seemed in all things to conform themselves to the Customs and Ordinances that were delivered by the Apostles; and to approve themselves unto all, strict observers of the Order and Discipline established throughout the Churches, by even striving to go herein beyond all the rest. Thus were the Tares insensibly sown in the Field of the Church, and under the Cloak of Zeal, and shew of the utmost Mortification and Sanctity, the Disease spread it self most swiftly, and infected great Numbers.

Sect. 3. Some few there were indeed that took *Montanus* for that which he was, or for that at least which he afterward prov'd himself to be; that is, a False Prophet^a: Yea, as not being ignorant of the Artifices of Satan, they look'd on him rather as a Person possess'd, and a Demoniack, than what he set up for; and as one, who being driven and agitated by the Spirit of Delusion, did but disturb the World, and unprofitably amuse and perplex Peoples Minds with vain Fancies, and the expectation of wonderful approaching Revolutions, even no less than the total Change of all Things within a few Years: And therefore they reprov'd him; and feared not to forbid him to speak any more by that Spirit, as remembering the Commandments and the Threatnings of our Lord; whereby we are warned diligently to take heed of False Prophets that were to come, and to deceive almost the very Elect of God.

Sect. 4. However, they did not this hastily, but upon sober and mature deliberation, after trial made of his Spirit: They presently observed that this pretended Spirit of Prophecy of *Montanus*, and the rest of that Tribe, was very different from that which the Church of Christ had received, and

^a Euseb. Hist. Eccles. l. 5. c. 16, 17.

which they undoubtedly knew to have been communicated to them by the very Apostles, whom some that were yet alive might remember. For the Enthusiasm of *Montanus* appeared to be very much like a Fit of Frenzy, or distemper'd Melancholy, accompanied with violent Agitations of the Body; and which took away from him the Liberty of his Reason, and the free Exercise of his Faculties. Which was never so in any of the true Prophets of God, either in the Old or the New Testament: Concerning whom it is generally agreed, that they lost not the understanding of their Prophecies, or the Chain and Sequel of them; but had the free exercise all the while of their Natural Reason, and both understood and remembered what was spoken to them by the Spirit. This was held to be a matter so very clear and evident, as not a few among the Wiser sort look'd on it as altogether unquestionable; and therefore they thought this enough, in order to pass a right Judgment, without entring into the Inquiry of the Impiety and Folly charged on *Montanus* and his Sect. Thus both St. *Athanasius* and St. *Hierom* expressly assert this difference betwixt the undoubted True Prophets of God, and these New pretended Prophets; and are so very positive as to say, that it cannot be denied. With whom also agreeth St. *Chrysostom*, delivering the Sense of those that were before him.

Sect. 5. But others^a, on the contrary, being unmindful of the Words of Christ, whereby he cautions us against being surpriz'd at any time by the Artifices of false Christs and false Prophets, were exceedingly filled with Joy at what they saw in *Montanus*, as if it had been a true effect of the Holy Ghost, and of the Grace of Prophecy. And they were hereby lifted up with an extreme Vanity and Confidence, as if nothing could be ever greater

^a Euseb. Hist. Eccles. l. 3. c. 16. p. 168.

or higher than this Dispensation which was pretended to be given to *Montanus* and his Followers. Thus being drunk in their Imaginations they feared not even to invite and sollicit the Spirit that was in him to speak. Who being ravish'd with the Honour of seeing himself so esteemed among Christians, and listned to by them, made use of divers Artifices and Stratagems to deceive others by the means of these, after that he had most subtilly deluded and drawn in the first: They were in very great Numbers that were after this manner carry'd away; notwithstanding that *Eusebius* will have it that they were but few in comparison of those who fell not into the Delusion: And among these were found Persons of unquestioned Probity, and some also of Learning, Honour, and Fortune; nay, even some in the highest Dignities of the Church, who could hardly be supposed to have any selfish or ill Design. And while they that were called the *Inspired* or *Pneumatical*, did not withdraw themselves from the Communion of the Church, but in all other Matters behaved themselves orderly, according to the Customs deliver'd either by the Apostles, or by Apostolical Persons and Coeval Fathers, it is not much to be wondred at, if some of a very good meaning did without much difficulty close with them. By this means then was the Church, not that in *Asia* only, but elsewhere, rent into pieces for some time about this Affair: And there was a Schism *in* it, tho' not *from* it, while the Evil One having most dextrously counterfeited himself to be the true Husbandman, was sowing therein his Tares, which afterwards sprang up.

Sect. 6. As to the Person of *Montanus* himself, there was none more likely to deceive and impose upon the World; being one every way qualified for so great an Undertaking, as the bringing about some notable Revolution in Religion: For he had a Ge-

nus that affected always somewhat extraordinary. And though some counted him a Fool, and others a Madman, he both knew how to lay great Models, and wanted not Resolution and Patience to execute what he so proposed. His outward Appearance had all the Form of Godliness and Spirituality. By this therefore some judged him presently to be a Saint, yea an Apostle; but others took him notwithstanding all this, for no better than a real Demoniac. All concluded there must be somewhat in him beyond a bare Natural Enthusiasm; and that there was some Spirit, good or evil, which managed the Springs.

Sect. 7. He was originally one of the most strict Sect of the *Encratite*, or the *Apostolici*; he had in all things appeared most zealous for the Laws and Customs of the Church: And he continued a most diligent observer of all its Discipline, therein striving to excel every one besides: An extreme honourer of the Traditions of the Elders, and a mighty stickler for restoring the decay'd Spirit and Life of Christianity. But especially was he addicted to great Mortifications, Separations, and Abstractions for the Purifying of the Soul, that it might be made capable to receive thereby the Spirit as a constant vivifying and informing Principle, and so be made consequently *Pneumatical*, or transform'd into the Nature of the Spirit.

Sect. 8. For this end he observ'd, not only with all strictness, the ordinary Fasts and Vigils of the Church, but out of an excess of Zeal instituted New ones; and gave out Rules and Orders of his own Head, for the manner of Fasting and of Abstinence. *Tὰς vnσείας ἐνομοθέτησεν*, saith the Historian of him, meaning he bound his Followers as by a Law, to the keeping of such certain Fasts that were only of particular Institution, without any Authority from the Church; for which Act of Presumption he was set upon by *Apollonius* very smartly, and refuted.

Sect. 9.

Sect. 9. It is said of him that he wholly abstain'd from the Use of Flesh, thereby discovering the Leaven of the *Pythagoreans* that was in him. And *Epiphanius* writes, That he commanded to abstain from Meats, as Unclean; thinking possibly by cleanness of Food and purity of Body, he might very much advance the Purification of the Soul it self, and so arrive to be a *spiritual* Person, or possessed by the Spirit.

Sect. 10. For the same Reason, though he did not absolutely condemn the Marriage-Bed, yet did he extremely depretiate it: He counted it utterly inconsistent with the more excellent and perfect State, to which they are called who are to wait at the Altar: And therefore while he allow'd Marriage to the Laity, for the sake of Procreation, he prohibited it to the Priests, lest it should draw them down into the Animal or Psychical Life. And as for the very Laity too, he was for binding them under very strict Laws in this case, in order to a Restraint of the Functions of the Animal Life; and was for certain a profess'd Enemy to Bigamy, as well as *Tertullian* his Disciple. Thus after their Master a multitude of his Followers readily embrac'd the Virgin Life, that they might be free from the World, persuaded that they should hereby arrive to be of the number of those Virgins that are said to ^a *follow the Lamb of God whithersoever he goeth*. And even of them that were married, some separated themselves by Consent, or even sometimes without it, that they might attend more fully, as they pretended, and without any distraction, upon the Service they thought themselves to stand ingaged in for God. Hence especially, as many as aim'd either at the Sacerdotal or Prophetical State, chose to submit themselves to those Bonds. For the same Prohibition was upon the Prophets and Prophetesses, as upon

^a Rev. xiv. 4.

the Priests of this new Order; who also were generally taken out from among their Prophets. These now that were separated after this manner, believing that they obeyed herein the Voice of the Holy Ghost in *Montanus*, imagined themselves hence to be *the First-Fruits unto God, and to the Lamb*, and his particular Inheritance that was *redeemed from among Men*, or brought up into the Superfensual and Angelical Life, because they were *not defiled with Women*. Thus it was he instructed his Disciples, having the fairest shew of Godliness and highest Pretensions to the Purity and Perfection of the Christian Religion, as a Teacher sent from God, to lead Men out of the Earthly and Animal Life by a course of Penances and Mortifications; that they might stand as before the Throne of God *without fault*, like unto ministring *Angels*, by him immediately commissioned to serve in his Sanctuary.

Sect. 11. No wonder that such a Preacher of Mortification and Self-denial should at first be follow'd by several sober and sincere Christians, who were pleas'd with the exactness of his Discipline, and thought his way could be no other than that of the Cross, which Christ had commanded all his Disciples to walk in. They obey'd him then, willingly undergoing the Penances and purgative Mysteries which he obliged them to pass through, in order to their Admission into the *Pneumatical* or Angelical State: They readily chose for this, to embrace all the Philosophick severities which he required, and to form themselves into a sort of Society under him, leading a single Life, and keeping under their Bodies by certain rigorous Impositions, even to the offering of Violence, and the shedding some of their Blood to preserve their Chastity. For the Austerities that some of them went forth in are almost incredible, as we may gather from several places of *Tertullian*. Also it is suppos'd
that

that they might misunderstand that famous Passage of our Blessed Saviour, *Mat. xix. 12.* and so literally make themselves Eunuchs for the Kingdom of Heaven, even as was done by *Origen* afterwards. And by the Testimony of *St. Hierom* it appears, That *Montanus* himself was an Eunuch; but the occasion of it he gives no account of. However, some there are that will have all this to be Hypocrisy, and that such an Accident might very well arrive from some other Cause, whatever to the contrary might be pretended. This at least is held for certain, that it was accounted in him Meritorious by his Followers.

Sect. 12. The Doctrine that he preach'd up was unexceptionable, and they that rejected his Enthusiasms, could not deny but that he was sound in the main Articles of Faith. None of all the Ancients was more express than he, in the Mystery of the Incarnation, or seem'd more to honour the Person of *Christ* and extol his Merits; concerning whom he taught, That the everlasting Son of God, says *St. Hierom* in his Epistle to *Marcella*, took upon him a Body of the Virgin *Mary*, wherein he preached the Gospel of the Kingdom, and at last dy'd for the Salvation of the World. All the ancient Hereticks generally err'd as to this, from the Truth; only he was most clear in this Point, preaching up Repentance and Faith in the Name of the Lord Jesus only, as the *one Mediator* betwixt God and Man: Of whom he held, that he did not only appear in our Nature, but that he was united with it after a most real manner; thereby condemning most, or all the Gnostick Enthusiasts: And that as he Descended from Heaven, and is again Ascended into Heaven, sitting down with our Nature at the Right Hand of God, so he must come again a Second time with the same, to judge the Quick and the Dead. Concerning the Deity, he taught his Disciples how the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost were

were but *one* God in Essence and Substance; and for the Truth hereof he appeal'd not only to the Holy Scriptures, but also the *Catholick* Tradition of the Church. For which reason St. *Hierom* does not reckon *Tertullian's* Treatise of the Trinity, written against *Praxeas*, amongst those Books which he wrote against the Church, though it was written by him when he was a *Montanist*. He was no less a zealous Asserter of the *Trinity*, than of the *Unity* in the Divine Being: And as that Book of his Disciple against *Praxeas*, is said to be the very first that was ever purposely written, concerning the Trinity in the Divine Nature, so is he by ^a some thought to have been the Inventor of the Term itself. The Dispute also about the use of the Word *Catholick*, is by ^b *Pacianus* suppos'd to have been first started by him, or his Followers. Nor is it deny'd, as I know, that he was Orthodox in the Notion of the *Church*, as a Christian Fellowship rightly form'd according to the Pattern deliver'd by Christ himself, and knit together by the Bond of his Spirit, under Pastors and Officers, of several Orders, having a clear and certain Mission from Him whom they represent. But it is notorious, that the Mistake was in the *Application* of the same, by his pretending to limit the *Catholick* Church to those of his own Society, and consequently breaking the Unity of Christ's Mystical Body; which alone was sufficient to answer the Ends and Designs of the grand Enemy, whose constant Maxim is, *Divide and Reign*. This however was not thought fit, upon weighty Reasons, to be done all at once.

^a Sand. Nuel. Hist. Eccles. l. 1. p. 127.

^b Ep. 1. ad Sempron.

ARTICLE III.

*Of the manner of setting up a new School,
or Society, of Prophets by Montanus.*

Sect. 1. **T**HERE was a liberty of Prophefying, or speaking under Inspiration, in the Primitive Church, which was in general allow'd to as many as were call'd *Spiritual*; that is, those that were thought to have receiv'd the Gifts of the Spirit by certain visible Manifestations thereof; as it evidently appears from the most ancient Monuments that we have, and particularly from the Epistles of *St. Paul*. And the end of this Liberty was not only the Edification thereby of all the Members of the Church, according to the particular Gift of each one, but also that the Spirits of every one might be tried and judged. Now this could not be, without there was first a fair Hearing and a Trial of the Merits of that Spirit which should pretend it self to be Divine; wherefore there was both an exprefs Command given to *try the Spirits*, and a miraculous Power also convey'd to certain Persons, in order to the Trying them accordingly: For as there were many Spirits in those early Days, that had the cunning to transform themselves into the Spirit of Christ, so as it was impossible for any, without an extraordinary Assistance, to discover them, and pluck off the Veil: It was hereupon thought most proper, by the Divine Wisdom, that he who is the Head of the Church, should by his own Spirit, extraordinarily assist his Body in the discovery of all such Counterfeits; and should therefore confer, on certain chosen Persons, and those chiefly to whom the Administration of his Government was committed; the Gift of *discerning or trying Spirits*.

Sect. 2.

Sect. 2. *Montanus* very well knew that this Power had been in the Apostles, and was ready enough to own it; but then he could not be so easily brought to acknowledge the Continuance of it in their Successors, who were Governors of the Churches, whom he look'd upon to be very much degenerated, and as Persons invested only with an outward Character, without the inward Power that did formerly use to attend it. Wherefore he was not willing that his Spirit should be judg'd by them, though he had a mind too to keep fair with them at first: for it is plain, he consider'd them as incompetent judges in his Case, pretending to have much more of the Spirit than all of them had. The liberty of Prophefying, that was at that time in the Church, was in the beginning a very plausible Plea for him; and he made all the advantage of it that was possible.

Sect. 3. Under the Character therefore of a *Prophet*, as an Order establish'd in the Church, without bringing any new Doctrine, he sets up for reviving what was decay'd, and for reforming what might be amiss. But having assum'd this Character to himself, without having been first try'd and approv'd of by the Church, he soon saw that there was no other way to maintain it, but by assuming also one that was higher, that so his Spirit might not be *subject to the Prophets*, or to those that had their spiritual senses exercised to discern, and had gotten an Habit, as it were of trying the several sorts of Spirits, both Good and Evil: So it was given out presently by his immediate Followers, that he was *more than a Prophet*, and that consequently he was not liable to the ordinary Trial of the Prophetical Spirit: And thus by virtue of his pretended extraordinary Mission, that he would have to be exempted from the Inspection of his rightful Superiors, sitting in the Chairs of the Apostles, he was for gathering a select Society out
of

of the Church, that should be independent on the Officers of the same, in like manner as the ancient Prophets under the Mosaick Dispensation; that is, so far at least as they were suppos'd under the operation of a supernatural and divine Agent, and under the Guidance of an infallible Wisdom.

Sect. 4. So *Montanus* having his Mind intoxicated with such high Notions, went up and down, and drew after him certain religious Melancholists, ^a τὰς ἀτυμνάστους ἐχούσας τὰς φαντασίας, as the Sect of the *Stoicks* did use to say; that is to say, Persons unexperienc'd in the way of Truth, and who having *unexercised Fancies* were thence apt to fall into any Absurdity and Vanity, and to receive Impressions from their Master, according to their Complexion and natural Inclination. In this manner he associated to himself, but without offering yet to break at all with the Church (he pleading only his fancy'd extraordinary Commission as a *Supplement* to the Ordinary) such as had a Zeal of Godliness without the right discerning; and as being uneasy at certain things in the Ministration of the common Ecclesiastical Governors, were ready to run into any Method that did but seem to promise the Reformation of those abuses which they complain'd of. Now there was no other Method so likely to take, as the Pretence of an immediate Delegation of Authority for that end from God, without being subject to any Appeal; nor any other Person so likely to please in pursuing this Method, and setting up in consequence hereof for *Personal Infallibility*, as our *Montanus*, for the Reasons which have been, and shall be hereafter yet further declar'd.

Sect. 5. There had been several before him, who had indeed pretended to a Commission much of the same nature with this, which he flatter'd himself

^a Laert. lib. 7. sect. 47.

with ; all whose Spirits had been tried and sentenc'd by the Church, and were now for the most part come to nothing. There had been not only *false Prophets*, and *false Apostles*, but even *false Christs* too, that had for a while gather'd Multitudes after them, setting up their Schools, and forming a Disciplehood after this manner : But these all were made to undergo the Trial of that Spirit, before whom all Things are naked, and in whose Sight nothing crooked can stand : And the Spirits that possess'd them were frequently made to flee away by Prayer only, with calling upon the Name of the Lord *JESUS*. Which Prophets, Apostles, and Christs, counterfeiting the True, and coming forth with lying Revelations and Miracles, did seem generally to agree in this one Principle ; namely, that the very same divine $\Delta\omicron\lambda\omicron\gamma$, Word, Reason, or Wisdom which had dwelt in *Jesus of Nazareth*, did also dwell in them, and actuate them in like manner. And this they either call'd the *Power of the Father*, where there was a Manifestation of some supernatural Power through it, or the *Power of God*, or the *Great Power* ; or they call'd it the *Glory of God*, or the *Glory*, as consider'd appearing in a glorious Vision ; or they nam'd it the *Spirit*, or the *Paraclet*, representing it as an outflowing Life and Joy filling them, and transporting them out of themselves ; or they said it was an *Angel* or *Heavenly Messenger*, as this Divine Principle of Light and Life was *sent* to them from the Father, to declare his Will to Mankind ; or they gave to it, lastly, the Name of a *Man*, or the *Son of Man*, as this was represented to the ancient Prophets under an *human* Appearance ; or as it took upon it outwardly the Form of a Man in the Person of *Jesus Christ* ; nor in him only (as they imagin'd) but in themselves also : Yet whatever Name they gave to this inward Principle, or Light, that they pretended to be led by and fill'd with,

with, they still maintain'd that it was inseparably united to God as One in Person, but manifold in his Dispensations and Appearances. And thus one of these ^a would needs persuade his Disciples, that he had appear'd among the *Jews* as the *Son*, that he was then appearing among the *Samaritans* as the *Father*, but that he would appear to other Nations as the *Holy Ghost*. This then was the ground of so many false Christs, and false Spirits that did daily arise; they pretending some to the Fulness [Πληρωμα] and others to the Participation [Κοινωνία] of the same Eternal Word and Spirit, call'd by different Appellations; without understanding which, the Spirit of *Montanism* can never thoroughly be apprehended.

Sect. 6. For *Montanus*, although he rectify'd their Hypothesis by the common Faith, holding all that the Church taught concerning the Person of Christ and his Offices in the Church, yet built he for certain upon this their Scheme of the *spiritual Plenitude*, or divine Fulness, variously and successively appearing in several Persons under different Dispensations or Oeconomies, as hereafter will appear. And he was manifestly encourag'd herein by the Success which other Pretenders to the same had met with, who had very little to say for themselves in comparison of him, that was at his setting out a Person so Orthodox in Faith and so Regular in Life: Whereas they on the contrary were generally, not only from their first beginning preachers up of strange and monstrous Opinions, but also were most Immoral in their Conversations, and utter Enemies to all manner of Discipline in the Church. Such were the Heads of the several Families of the *Gnosticks*, who while they set up for no less than the being *Christed with Christ*, and *Goddeed with God*, as filled with all the *Fulness* of

^a Iren. l. i. c. 20.

divine Light, Life, and Truth; did yet broach the most wicked Abominations, as if they were real divine Manifestations, and teach Doctrines expressly contrary to the Holiness of the Gospel of Christ, as well as to the Simplicity thereof. But the appearance of *Montanus* was to be after quite another manner; for otherwise it had been impossible for him to have drawn aside such a vast Multitude after him, when these had been already tried and condemn'd in all the Churches. He saw it necessary then to oppose these, and to tread a new Path, if he had a mind at least to prevail with the soberer sort: And accordingly he laid the Foundation of his new *Koinonia*, or Fellowship, so as he might give the least Offence. For it seems the Enemy of the Church had now another Game to play, as from what follows will be plainly seen.

ARTICLE IV.

Of the new Prophetesses in his Society.

Sect. 1. SOON after that *Montanus* therefore had appear'd, giving himself out for some great Power of God, and preaching every where Repentance and the nearness of the Kingdom of Heaven, there were several of the weaker Sex excited by his high Pretensions, and believing in him, were seiz'd also upon by the same Spirit that acted in him, and made him Parecstatical; among these the most eminent were *Priscilla* and *Maximilla*, that were of the number of the honourable Women in the Church; who with *Montanus*, form'd together a sort of *Prophetical Society*, to which others were continually added. This was a Society, not according to the manner of the Schools of the ancient Prophets of God, but rather according to the Custom

Custom of the Heathen Prophets and Prophetesses; inasmuch as their pretended Inspirations, to strike the Senses the more powerfully, were generally accompanied with several things very odd and extravagant, wherein they were thought by most, not a little to resemble the *Pythonisses*; however some in this defended them.

Sect. 2. These were both married Women, yet great and zealous Contenders, it seems, for the Life of Virginity, and for Abstinence from all the Lusts (and even lawful Acts) of the Flesh, so soon as they became acquainted with this Reformer. And therefore no sooner were they touch'd by the Power in *Montanus*, and fill'd thence with this Spirit of Prophecy and Divination, but immediately they left their Husbands, as holding the State of Matrimony not to be consistent with that high Dignity in the Church of God, whereunto they believ'd themselves to be now called. They fancy'd hereupon with themselves, that they were henceforward to be espoused to none but Christ alone, being loosed from the Law of the first Husband, after the Flesh; to the end they might live no more after the Flesh, but after the Spirit, in pure abstraction from the World, (as was pretended) and might wait continually upon the Motions and Commands of that Spirit, which we will in Charity, presume they did verily take to be the true Spirit. Nay, it was moreover given out by his Disciples, that *Priscilla*, who was otherwise call'd *Prisca*, was a *Virgin Prophetess*, notwithstanding her having liv'd in a married State: Under which it may well be thought, that *Montanus* and his Disciples, had some hidden mystical meaning, as alluding not improbably to the State of Paradise, before the entrance of Concupiscence. Which State, by the Inhabitation of the Spirit, and by its powerful operation upon the Body, was by these thought possible to be attain'd. It appears also as

if they had some Notion of an *Archetypal Virgin*, in like manner as others had of an *Archetypal Man*, to which several Names were given; and which was the *Θεία Φύσις*, or Divine Nature, capacitating them for Organs and Vessels of the Holy Spirit, and whereby all the true Followers of Christ (as they reckon'd themselves) were effectually made *Paradisiacal Virgins*, and *ἱσαγγέλῳι*, or Angels upon Earth resembling those in Heaven. Being thus moved up to the belief, that they were indeed Partakers of the Angelical Life and Nature, by their initiation into this Society, they were easily brought to fancy themselves Heavenly Virgins, and the Spouses of Jesus Christ; of whom they likewise reported, that he disdained not to visit them in Person, and to converse with them as one Friend converses with another, manifesting his Mind to them in the most weighty Concerns of the Church.

Sect. 3. For this reason they are said to have been Glad as Virgins, all in white, and to have carried burning Lamps, or lighted Tapers in their Hands, then when they officiated in the Church, and gave forth there their ^a Oracles. That they used also many other Ceremonies, and Typical Adumbrations, is very likely; but 'tis not to be doubted but that they cover'd their Heads with the Virginal Veil, since their Discipline was manifestly so strict in the Use of the Veil; and that it was also an undoubted Custom of the Primitive Christians, conformable to a plain Apostolical Constitution, to have their Inspired Women when they did Prophecy, to be veil'd; and since likewise none of the Catholicks ever objected against them a Defect of this kind, which they must certainly have known, and as certainly would have censur'd. For taking notice of their *outward adorning*, they con-

^a Epiph. Pan. H. 51.

demn'd 'em for their wearing of Gold and Silver ; and for their putting on of fine Apparel, as will appear from *Apollonius* in *Eusebius* : But they condemn'd 'em not for presuming to Prophecy with a Veil upon them ; which is a clear Evidence that they were not Transgressors against so express an Injunction of the Apostle as is that of 1 *Cor.* xi. 5, 6. and that these Prophetesses did in all things strive to conform themselves to the Practice of the true Prophetesses, that they might not be distinguish'd from them.

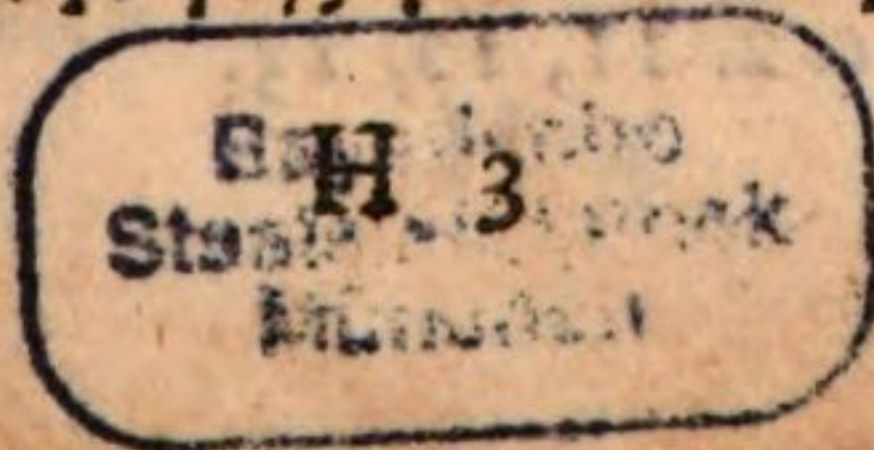
Sect. 4. They are charg'd by *Apollonius* with suffering themselves to be brib'd, and with Prophecy-ing for Presents. But *St. Hierom* on the contrary, supposes them rather to bribe others, in order to make Profelytes. For this Father has acquainted us, that those two, viz. *Priscilla* and *Maximilla* were Ladies of Quality, and exceedingly Rich ; so that they could have no need of acting the Prophetesses for hire, and no inducement from worldly Considerations to express themselves at so strange a manner as they did. Wherefore there must of necessity have been some other Temptation to them than merely the lucre of Gold, or of Silver, or of Precious Stones : And this could be no other, in all appearance, than the Ambition of being great in the expected Kingdom, and the Confidence of receiving again what was so laid out, with abundant Interest. Thus then being led on with a false Faith, which had no manner of Substance or Ground, and puffed up in their own Minds beyond the Measure that was given them from Above, they fell presently into sundry Snares, and easily mistook sometimes the Imaginations of their own Hearts, and sometimes the Suggestions of the old Impostor, for the pure inspirations of the divine Spirit. This seems to have been their Case at first, when it must be own'd that their Lives were outwardly Holy and Blameless ; which drew after

them so great Numbers that saw nothing in them which they could except against, and much in them which they did admire. But afterwards it might very well be, that they took not altogether such heed to their external Conversation, and that so a merchandizing might be establish'd, of those spiritual Goods which they profess'd to possess. For in about forty Years time, after that this Spirit had began to give forth his publick Oracles, through these Prophetesses, and others of the like kind, it is notorious that they did not refuse what was presented to them in exchange for their Prophecies, this being appealed to then as a Matter out of Dispute. Wherefore *Apollonius* thus expostulates with them, "Doth not the Scripture constantly forbid
 " a Prophet, or a Prophetess, to take Presents,
 " or Money? Whenever therefore I see a Prophe-
 " tess receive Gold and Silver, and rich modish
 " Raiment, ought I not consequently to reject her?
 And again he says; "If they will maintain that
 " their Prophets and *Prophetesses* receive no Pre-
 " sents, let them then own, if they shall be con-
 " vinc'd that those have indeed receiv'd any, that
 " they are not Prophets (or *Prophetesses*) and after
 " that we will bring a vast number of Proofs to
 " shew, that they have actually received such.
 What they could say to this Challenge we do not know; but 'tis probable that the Presents which were made to them, were not properly address'd to them as Rewards or Gratuities, but were given strictly to the Spirit speaking through their Organs, under the specious name of Offerings.

Sect. 5. Prisca, or Priscilla, was so eminent for her Prophecies, and in such esteem among the Disciples of this new Dispensation, as they gave to her no less than to *Montanus* himself, the Title of *Paraclet*; as supposing hers to be an higher Degree of Inspiration than that of the very Apostles, through the Holy Ghost descending into her, and
 Personally,

Personally, as it were, uniting himself with her by means of the Renovation of her Nature, and Restauration to the Paradisiacal State of Virginity: So that she being made a Paradisiacal Virgin, as was pretended, was now arriv'd to the Perfect State, and was thereupon to be introduced again into Paradise, and into the new *Jerusalem*, whereof she imagin'd that she had the real Sight, and that it actually descended from Heaven into the place which they had chosen for their Residence, even *Pepuza*, the Seat of their Patriarch. Here they say the Lord Christ appear'd to her in great Glory, and ^a espous'd himself to her, conferring upon her the Gift of the *Heavenly Wisdom*, as the Seal and Pledge of the future Consummation. After this, all her Dictates were taken for Oracles, and as the very Voice of Christ himself; and there were several, both Men and Women, who being warned by the Spirit speaking through her Mouth, consecrated themselves by certain Rites and Ceremonies; and from her Name were call'd *Priscillians*. For she was as their spiritual Mother, and they as her spiritual Children. Some said that these were even baptiz'd into her Name: And it appears from *St. Basil*, that it was commonly believ'd that the Women, at least of the *Pepuzenian* Society of the *Montanists*, were baptiz'd into the Name of the Father, Son, and *Priscilla* ^b; or some way initiated at Baptism, to the Confession of her to be the immediate Organ of the Holy Ghost. The same Father makes therefore the Heresy of *Montanism* chiefly to consist in this, That they blasphemed against the Holy Ghost, by attributing his Name and Title, as well to *Priscilla* as to *Montanus*; and by consequence baptizing in the Name of a Creature. Many thereupon concluded, that this could be no other than an evil Spirit which spoke by her

^a Epiph. Hær. xlix. c. 1. p. 417, 418. ^b Ep. ap Amphiloc. Can. 1. p. 20.



Mouth; notwithstanding all the fair shew of Holiness and Pretences of intimate Communication with Christ. Wherefore some of the Orthodox Clergy attempted to Exorcise the Dæmon of *Priscilla*; particularly *Sotas* Bishop of *Anchialus* in *Thrace*. But this *Sotas* was herein hinder'd by the Fanaticks; as *Ælius Julius*, another Bishop of a *Roman* Colony in *Thrace*, did upon Oath depose. There were also several other *Thracian* Bishops that concurr'd with *Sotas* in his Sentiment, concerning the Possession of *Priscilla*; and in pursuance thereof excommunicated her, and thought that the Spirit of Divination which had seiz'd her was to be driven out of her with Prayer and Fasting. On the contrary, those that own'd her to be act'd by a true Spirit went so far, as to acknowledge all that proceeded from her, in her Enthusiasms, to be Canonical Scripture. *Tertullian* cites some of her Prophecies under the Name of the *Paraclet*. *Theodoret* mentions in his time^a her Writings, with those of *Maximilla*, as put in the same Rank with those of the Old and New Testament. *Eusebius*, *Epiphanius*, and *St. Hierom*, bear their Witness to the same^b. But if we may believe *Theodoret*, they not only made her Writings equal with the ancient Scriptures; but that placing the Book of her Prophetick Warnings among the Prophetick Books of the New Testament, they even honour'd it more than they did the Gospel it self. Some have taken her for one of the Christian Sybils, and have thought that she might be the Author of some of the Verses in the *Sibylline* Books, as we have them at this Day. An Opinion that is favour'd by the Learned *Blondel*, who will have *Montanus* to be the chief Compiler of these Books. It is certain however, she made a very considerable Figure; she was extreamly

^a Hist. Eccles. lib. 3. c. 2. p. 227.

^b Epiph. xlviii. c. 2. 11, 12, 13.

courted and caress'd by Persons of the best Condition; she was honour'd by some of the highest Station in the Church, and appeal'd to; she was Noble and Rich, after the World, and so had generally Admission according to her Quality; and Respect as well from those of the World, as from those that were separated from it. In a word, she was a Person not so contemptible, as some have without ground imagin'd, but every way qualify'd for a Design of this nature. And it cannot be doubted, but that with her Riches she did a great deal of Mischief to the Church, and all this under the Notion of Charity, as the Ancients have deliver'd down to us. She liv'd many Years in the Society of *Pepuza*, with *Maximilla*; but her Writings not surviving her long, we have very little certain concerning her. In the beginning of the Third Century she seems to have been yet alive; but she was for certain dead in the First Year of *Caracalla*^a, being that of Christ CCXI, as is clear from *Apollonius*.

Sect. 6. *Maximilla* was in nothing inferior to the former; she was by Birth honourable, and is said also to have had a good Estate, with which she made her self Friends, and gain'd over Profelytes to that Spirit which was in her. She prophesy'd of the pouring forth of the last Judgment upon the World, and that soon after her departure out of it, there should be such dreadful Calamities as never had been before the Foundation of the World; but that there should be a place of Hiding for the Elect, and the spiritual Christians, till the Indignation should pass over the Earth; and that the heavenly City should then descend in *Phrygia*, there where their Society met; and that all things should be afterward renew'd, and the Curse taken away. She declar'd that this visitation of the Spirit, which

^a Ap. Euseb.

was pretended to by them, was the last and greatest Mercy of God to the World^a: That she was one of the last Witnesses of Truth, and that whoever heard not the Voice of the divine *Paraclet* speaking by her, could not expect to enter into the Kingdom of our Lord; for that the End of all things was at hand, and after her there was to be no more any Prophetess. Some have said, that she was actually the last Prophetess among the *Montanists*, for she liv'd till about the Year CCXIX. And whereas she had predicted that there should succeed immediately after her Death, universal Wars and Desolations, it is observable, that in more than Thirteen Years after her Death, there was neither any War in the State, Particular or General, nor any Persecution against the Church. The like Calm to which is not to be found in two Hundred Years, or thereabouts. She was strongly oppos'd by some of the *Phrygian* Bishops, particularly, by *Julian* and *Zoticus*, Persons of known Probity and Strictness of Life, who died afterwards Martyrs for the Faith of Christ; but was as strongly defended by *Themison*, who stopp'd their Mouth, and would not give them leave to shew, that the Spirit of *Maximilla* was a lying and defective Spirit. They attempted to Exorcise this Spirit, but in vain; for she had not only *Themison*, but several other Favourers that laid claim to as great a Power as these; and the Matter ended in nothing, both Parties being alike dissatisfy'd. But it is urg'd by *Apollonius*, that the Friends of *Maximilla* would not venture this manner of Trial of her Spirit, which was then Ordinary in the Church, according to the Promise of Christ; and therefore resisted the Proposal of these holy Bishops, and permitted them not to make the Experiment. There are also some things related of her by the same Author, which could

^a Epiph. xlviii. c. 2. p. 403.

proceed from no other than an evil Spirit. But another Author, who had well weigh'd this Matter, and was no more a Friend to her, or her Party, than *Apollonius* himself, could not tell what to say hereto, when he had taken a great deal of Pains to inform himself of the Truth.

Sect. 7. *Quintilla* was another of these Prophetesses of *Montanus*, but not so eminent as either of the former. She is mention'd in *Epiphanius*^a; but there is nothing notable occurs concerning her, but that she had, or pretended to have, a Revelation concerning the Holiness of the Place of *Pepuza*, and that Christ had appear'd to her in a Vision or a Dream, to inform her hereof, and of some Mysteries of the divine Wisdom. She was Mother of the *Quintillians*, a Sect or Subdivision of the *Montanists*, that were called by her Name; of which we shall have occasion hereafter to speak.

Sect. 8. There is also a certain Woman made mention of by *Tertullian*, in his Treatise of the *Soul*, whom he names not, that was much admir'd by him, as one divinely endowed with the Gift of Revelation, and of mysterious Knowledge. She seems to have been an *African*, or at least to have liv'd in *Africa* about the time of his Writing that Book, which is judged to be the CCVth Year of the Vulgar *Æra*. He has taken his Notion, such as it is, of the Nature and Origine of the human Soul from her; and the whole of that Treatise will appear to be chiefly, if not altogether, built upon her Revelations. Nor is it improbable that some other of his Discourses may also have had the same Foundation. But as this was written by him about Sixteen Years before the Death of *Maximilla*, some have been apt to think that he might mean her only: Of which Opinion is the Learned Author of the Ecclesiastical Memoirs. We have no particular Account in History of any other but those.

^a Epiph. Hær. li. c. 33. August. Hær. c. 27.

ARTICLE V.

Of the new Prophets and Apostles in this Society.

THE same Spirit fell presently after upon some of the Men also, shewing forth it self by the very same Signs as in the Women. Particularly it fell upon one *Alcibiades*, who in a few Years got a mighty Reputation among this sort of People for his Propheying and Speaking by the Spirit. For before the Year CLXXVII it appears, that his Name was generally establish'd, and he had in Esteem by the whole Party as a great Prophet, extraordinarily commission'd by God for the raising up of this pretended new Dispensation to the Church. He was by many thought no less considerable than *Montanus* himself: And hence in some Places, they who pretended to be after this manner led by the *Paraclet*, were not call'd by the Name of *Montanists*, but *Alcibiadists*; as acknowledging *Alcibiades* rather than *Montanus* for their Founder. Thus *Asterius Urbanus* writing against them, supposes *Alcibiades* to be the Head of the Party; and their Religion, or Society, as divided from the Communion of the Orthodox Bishops, to be commonly call'd the *Heresy* (or Schism) of *Alcibiades*. There was another of the same Name, about the same time, in *France*, that was inclining to those Principles, and was directly falling into those irregular Excesses of Mortification, which the *Montanist* Spirit requir'd of its Followers; but that he was forewarn'd against them by express Revelation. This was one of the Martyrs of *Lions* that writ that Pacificatory Letter to the Churches of *Asia*, upon the Affair of *Montanism*.

• Euseb. Hist. Eccles. lib. 5. c. 3.

Seet. 2. Next to him was *Theodotus*, who set up also about the same time for a Prophet, and an Apostle; shewing the Signs that were receiv'd among them, and bearing Testimony to the Spirit both in *Montanus* and in his Fellow-Helpers, both of the one and the other Sex. He was a principal Solicitor and Agent for this whole Party, and was by *Montanus* pitch'd upon for their first Treasurer, as the fittest for the Execution of that Trust, both by Personal Abilities and by Inspired Gifts. We have nothing of his Prophecies or Revelations to pass a Judgment upon; but 'tis certain they made a great noise in the World about the Year of Christ CLXXVII, according to *Eusebius*, and thereupon fell under the Examination of the Governors of the Church, who proceeded herein with great Caution and Deliberation. For the Cause was brought before a Provincial Synod of *Thracian* Bishops, in which *Sotas* Bishop of *Anchialus* presided; and his pretensions being there fairly debated and try'd by those Criteria and Marks which were then receiv'd by the Catholick Church, the result of it was this, That *Theodotus* was clearly convinc'd of having been all the while under the Conduct of a deceiving Spirit, that had usurp'd the Name of the Holy Ghost. Nevertheless he persisted still, and would not yield himself up to the Truth; but continu'd constant in obedience to that Spirit, which had seiz'd him through the Mouth of *Montanus*; and from which he pretended to be instructed in such things as had never been made known to any Man living. It seems as if he were one fitted by his Genius for high Speculations; whence taking delight in nothing so much as in great and profound Mysteries, and what was out of the common way of thinking, he made a very considerable Progress in his pursuit after these, and had no

* Euseb. l. 5. c. 16. p. 184.

mean Fame for a mysterious Contemplatist among those of this Tribe: Though possibly his being so very Mysterious might be the occasion that some of his Contemporaries, and particularly *Tertullian*, would not allow him to be perfectly one with the Fraternity of the *Montanists*, though himself an Officer amongst them: For the other Prophets and Prophetesses of this pretended Third Dispensation were, it seems, accusom'd to utter their Inspirations in a Stile more easy and familiar, and such as the Church had been already us'd to. But that Spirit which spoke through his Organs, was not content to have him pass for an ordinary Prophet; and therefore would persuade him, that he was now become altogether as an Angel of God, and had already obtain'd the Resurrection from the Dead, by putting on the *Luciform* Vehicle: And so having struck powerfully upon his Imagination, filling it with fine towering Ideas and Representations, he taught him to speak in a sort of Cabalistical Dialect, and to use high swelling Words which might have a shew of Wisdom, but had not the Substance. Thus he became a great Master in the *Valentinian* Theology, and in the secret Mysteries of the *Gnosticks*; even out-stripping all that had ever went before him: For being fill'd in the Knowledge of their mystick Cosmogony, or *Genesis* of the World, and of the new Creation according to them, or the *Palingenesis* of Man as the *Little World*, he is said to have increas'd the number of their *Aeons* to above eight Hundred. So believing himself to be more than a meer Man, he was tempted to proceed farther, and even to rob the Blessed Jesus (if we may Credit *Pacianus*^a) of the divine Honour which was pay'd to him in all the Churches. And while he thus exalted himself to the very Throne of our Lord, he labour'd

^a S. Pacian. c. 1. p. 50.

to debase him (whose Right only it was to be called God and Lord) to the same State with himself; that is, to an human Person, by the constant and supereminent Inhabitation of the divine Spirit, *diviniz'd*, or made Divine. This seems to be the true Character of this *Theodotus*: Notwithstanding which there are some more favourable in their Sentiments concerning him^a; who say, He continued sound in the Faith of the Blessed Trinity; and that it was another *Theodotus* of *Byzantium*, who liv'd about the same time, and for fear of Torment deny'd Christ. But allowing that it was another of the same Name, that through the apprehension of Death was prevail'd on to renounce and blaspheme Christ, yet it is not improbable but this *Theodotus*, surnam'd the *Tanner*, and the Companion of *Montanus*, however Catholick in Doctrine he might be for some time, yet when he began to have Inspirations concerning such a vast Multitude of *Æons*, or successive Manifestations of the Divine Nature, and so fall in consequently with the *Simonian* and *Valentinian* Schemes, might justly enough be suspected of derogating from that high Veneration which is due to the Name of *JESUS* from every Creature, as well in Heaven as in Earth. Now the surprizing Progress of this Society of the Prophets, seems to have been owing in a great measure to the management of this Man, who receiv'd and kept the Monies which *Montanus* gather'd by voluntary Contributions and Oblations, and then distributed the same according as fit occasions did present. He died in one of his Ecstasies. And it was commonly said, that as he was expecting to be translated after the manner of *Enoch* and *Elias*,^b the Spirit which he had blindly surrender'd

^a Histor. Ecclesiast. par le seur D. T. Tom. II. Par. 2. p. 269, 270. Par. 3. p. 79.

^b Euseb. Hist. Eccles. l. 5. c. 16. p. 181.

himself to follow, caught him up into the Air, and then, while he thought he was ascending directly into Heaven, let him fall of a sudden upon the Earth, and slew him.

Sect. 3. Proculus or Proclus, was another eminent Doctor and Prophet of the *Montanists*, who flourish'd when *Severus* and *Antoninus* were Emperors, and had a famous disputation at *Rome* with *Caius*, a Priest of that Church, *Zephyrinus* being then Bishop; whereof *Caius* afterward publish'd a Relation in Form of a Dialogue, which is several times cited by *Eusebius*, and to which he gave the Name of Διαλέξεις, or Conferences. But we have no account of what *Proclus* did write upon this occasion, in vindication of his Party; only there are indeed some Words of his reported by *Eusebius*, out of the Conferences of *Caius*, from which very little Judgment can be taken. It is certain, that he was had in very great Reputation, not only among those of his own Society, but even among those that were contrary to him, and zealously oppos'd the Revelations of *Montanus* and his Prophets, as appears from *St. Pacian*, who calls his Followers *the most noble of all the Phrygians*. And almost Two Hundred Years after this his Conference with *Caius*, he had still a great Party remaining, that had a particular Reverence for his Name, and affected to be called by it. There was no manner of Error in point of Faith or Doctrine, that he could, so far as I can find, be ever charg'd with: But on the contrary, he was held to be very Catholick and Sound in his Sentiments of Christianity, and especially in the Doctrine of the ever Blessed Trinity: Except in this one thing only, That he own'd the Spirit of *Montanus* to be no other than the True and Infallible Spirit of God, and thereby was in the Opinion of many, a Blasphemer against the Holy Ghost. He is said to have made no small

Figure even in the Life of *Montanus*, the Esteem both of his Orthodoxy and Piety drawing after him great numbers; among whom there were some Persons of Consideration and Name. There were indeed two different Schools of those Religionaries set up in the very Life-time of their Founder: The one of which were stiff Defenders of the Catholick Faith, according to the Rule thereof, strenuously asserted in that famous Piece of *Tertullian* concerning *Prescription*, which came forth then when he was in actual Communion with the *Montanists*, as *Du Pin* hath shewn. But the other consisted of those that were greater *Latitudinarians*, who were thought inclinable either to the Doctrine of *Praxeas* and the *Patripassian* Hypothesis, or else to that which afterward borrow'd its Name from *Sabellius*, owning no other but a meerly nominal distinction of the Divine Persons. Now the Head of the first of these Schools was *Proclus*; and with him, it seems, *Tertullian* did join himself, making of him in his Books an honourable mention. And as the whole body of the *Montanists* were commonly said to be $\kappa\tau\iota$ $\Phi\epsilon\upsilon\lambda\alpha\varsigma$, and thence call'd *Cataphrygians*, or *Phrygians*: So when the other School arose up, as many of them as still adher'd to the Catholick Doctrine, were said to be $\kappa\tau\iota$ $\Pi\epsilon\rho\acute{\iota}\nu\alpha\lambda\omicron\nu$, or Believers according to *Proclus*, and thence call'd also *Proclians*.

Sect. 4. *Æschines* was Head of this other School among the *Montanists*; whence they generally took the Name of *Æschinists*^a. And there are many things in Ecclesiastical Writers, that are charg'd against the *Montanists* in general, which do seem properly to belong to these *Æschinists* alone. Whence great part of that Confusion which is among Authors about them, may easily be remov'd by the help but of this one distinction of the *Proclian* and *Æschinist Montanists*. With respect to

^a $\kappa\alpha\tau\grave{\alpha}$ $\text{A}\iota\chi\iota\nu\iota\omega\nu$

him, and his Followers, *Praxeas* may indeed be said to be a Doctor of the *Cataphrygians*, for as much as they fell in with some of his Sentiments; but with respect to the *Proclian Montanists*, this can be asserted with no degree of Truth. *Theodore*^a speaking of those that adher'd to him, saith, That some of the *Montanists* were fallen into *Sabellianism*. And one more ancient than he tells us plainly, ^b That they who follow'd *Æschines* among the *Montanists* were *Antitrinitarians*, acknowledging but one Person in the Deity. History is very silent concerning him, and his Party was inconsiderable, compar'd with the former. One *Blastus* is join'd with him, as also *Theodotus* the *Ebionite*: But it appears, that these are not properly to be number'd with the *Montanists*, any more than *Praxeas*; tho' it be not hereby deny'd that there was a mutual Conformity in some of their Principles, and perhaps also an outward Correspondence.

Sect. 5. Now these all pretended to immediate Divine Inspiration, the *Unitarian Montanists* no less than the *Trinitarian*; and agreed together in owning the Heavenly Mission of their Founder, and that this was the very Dispensation of the Holy Ghost, which thus united and knit together in One Bond, even Persons of different Minds and Interests, if but dispos'd to receive so great a Blessing; God thereby shewing, said they, that he had no Respect of Persons. The Revelations of *Priscilla* seem to have been very different from those of *Maximilla*, and probably those of *Quintilla* from them both: Whence some adher'd to one rather than another, according as their Constitution or Temperament best suited; yet not condemning the other. The Inspirations of *Alcibiades* differ'd not a little from those of *Theodotus*, as well as the

^a Hist. Eccles. lib. 3. c. 2. p. 227.
c. 52. p. 254.

^b Ap. Tertull. Præscr.

Teachings of *Proclus* from those of *Æschines*; yet the same Signs still more or less accompany'd them all.

Sect. 6. Of such then did the new Society of Prophets consist, which was set up by *Montanus* in the Church, and was afterwards separated from it in the manner as shall be declared. The exact time when each of these did begin to appear, and Prophecy in the Name of the *Paraclet*, or by a pretended Apostolical Authority teach in the Assemblies of Christians; or how long each of them continued under these Novel and strange Influences to distract unwary Minds, and divide the Household of Christ against it self, cannot be stated as it were to be wish'd. There is no doubt but *Æschines* was the last in the Order of Time, of these before mention'd, who set up himself by virtue of this pretended Commission; and probably it might not be till even after the actual Separation of the *Montanists* in general, from the Body of the Church; for that otherwise it cannot be suppos'd, but that the Orthodox Bishops would have proceeded against them on the score of Heresy, which we do not find they did, as well as of false Prophecy. Nor can it be thought that *Tertullian* would have been altogether so silent in this Point, as he is; much less have gone so easily over to them, were there any among them that publicly held such Doctrines, while he himself continued so zealously to contend for the Distinction of the Divine Hypostases, or Personalities, against the *Praxeans*, and other Innovators in the Faith. As for *Proclus*, he was certainly the Elder, and must have been pretty considerable before the appearance of this *Æschines*, to get after him a Party; seeing there is honourable mention made of him by *Tertullian* more than once, who calls him *Proculus*, as others also call him *Patroclus*. Yet whether or no there might not be Two of the same Name, and both of
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them *Montanists*, the one an *African*, the other a *Greek*, who might be both considerable much about the same time; only the one a little ancients than the other, may very well admit of a Question. Most are agreed that there was but *one*; however, a very learned and industrious Writer inclines rather to think there were *Two*; that is, one in *Africa*, with whom *Tertullian* was acquainted, and the other in *Greece*, who travell'd to *Rome*, that so he might there defend the Cause of his Party. There were also several others whose Names do occur in History, (and of whom we have little, or nothing, besides that is certain) who were eminent among the first *Montanists*; concerning whom, yet we cannot determine whether they were so before, or only after that the Schism was form'd. To which I now proceed to speak.

ARTICLE VI.

Their Pretensions for the Liberty of Prophecy in the Church, and the use that they made of it.

Seet. 1. **A**S in the Jewish Church there was not only the Worship in the Temple, which was then the Principle of Unity, but there was also a Service render'd to God both in their *Beth-Hacneseth*, the House of Congregation, or the *Synagogue* (as we ordinarily render it) and in their *Beth-Hammidrash*, the House of Instruction, where a few (about nine, or ten) did treat more privately together, and were instructed in the more secret Signification of the Divine Law, and in the Mysteries and high spiritual part of Religion, by
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a peculiar Teacher for that appointed, as in imitation of the ancient Schools of the Prophets; so in like manner seems it to have been at first in the Christian Church, according to the difference of the Dispensation, of which there appear to be some footsteps in *St. Paul's* Epistles, but which cannot here be insisted on. Hence *Montanus* might very well upon this foot, keep up his little Assemblies, as in imitation of the *Jewish* Custom of *Batte-Hammidrah*, or Houses of Instruction for the Mystical and spiritual Part of Religion, without any Breach thereby in the Unity of the Church: Nor could he have justly incur'd any Censure from the Orthodox Governor of it, had he but regularly submitted himself to the Trial of his Spirit, according to the Rules and Order which was then generally receiv'd among Christians. This was ever acknowledg'd by themselves. Their manner therefore of Proceeding against him at first, was to try, by Methods undoubtedly Apostolical, what Spirit it was that did speak in these little Assemblies by his Mouth, or by the Mouths of the Women that adher'd to him. A formal Challenge was made to Exorcise this Spirit in the Name of the Lord JESUS, and to be decided by the issue hereof; but this would by no means be allow'd of by those that were acted by it: For they look'd upon this both as a breach of the Liberty of Prophecy-ing, that had been ever allow'd the Church, and as the highest Affront that could be offer'd to that Spirit whose Subjects they were.

Sect. 2. Which Spirit, delivering its Oracles by the Mouths of these pretended Prophets and Prophetesses, gave it self out to be no other than the very Eternal Spirit of God; and resented this Proposal with the utmost Indignation, exclaiming against those that made it as *despisers of Prophecying*. And they constantly also aver'd, as well, when under the Operation of the said Spirit, as when out

of it, that the Organs of their Bodies were by it irresistibly over-rul'd, and their Tongues constrain'd to utter what they did, without their own Foreknowledge of the Matter, or Consent to it.

Sect. 3. Under these Inspirations it is true, they gave forth a great number of good Moralities and Exhortations to Holiness and Strictness of Life: And most rigorously pressing a Reformation, both of Discipline and Manners, they reflected on the Catholicks as too loose in both: Wherefore they taught Men, that except their Righteousness did exceed the Righteousness of these, there could be no entrance for them into the Kingdom of Christ: Which spiritual Kingdom was indeed by them confin'd in a manner to a little Number of *Phrygians*, who counted it their chief Honour to be the Followers of *the Prophets*; that is, of *Montanus* and the other Pretenders to the Prophetical Gift. For the Spirit which agitated them, and spoke through them, so puff'd them up with the great and extraordinary Promises which he made to them, and the Blessings which he pronounced upon them, as they look'd on themselves to be as of the *inward* Court, even separated for a Royal Priesthood and an Holy Generation; and to be hereby Secur'd, as within a certain Pale, while the rest of Christians should be exposed to the Vials of God's Indignation, then to be pour'd out on the Apostatized Churches, standing without, and being with respect to that as the Court of the *Gentiles*, which was profaned.

Sect. 4. But it is also farther observable, that this *Montanist* Spirit did nearly imitate most (if not all) of the Properties of the true Divine Spirit; so that it was still very difficult for many serious and sincere Christians to discern of themselves, what manner of Spirit it was that pressed (or seem'd to press) to so much Holiness, and rebuked Vice so openly and so powerfully. No doubt but an Argument was made hereof by the Patrons

of this New Dispensation ; they knew well enough to object, that if the Kingdom of Satan was divided against it self his Kingdom could never stand, and that the Devil could not be suppos'd so out of his Wits, as to preach against himself and his own Interest. Again, the Spirit of *Montanus* resembled much the Spirit of God, in producing according to the Warnings and Exhortations by the Mouths of his Inspired, such *outward* Fruits, as were nearly *like* to those that are call'd the *Fruits of the Spirit*, in opposition to the *Works of the Flesh*. And that this Spirit might seem to be even a Discerner of the Secrets of the Heart, as well as an utter Enemy to all Iniquity, he would publickly in their Assemblies for Prophecyng, make one or other of the Inspired reprove some that were there present for their Faults, which were not known, but which perhaps by some probable Grounds of Conjecture, might be guess'd at by a most subtil Spirit. And it was urg'd by them, that this Discovery of the Secrets of their Hearts, and of their hidden Faults, which not a few were ready to bear Witness to, could be only from the very Spirit of God, and from no other ; not discerning that there are many things which the evil Spirits may sometimes know before they are brought forth into Act, or give at least a guess at ; and especially such wherein they themselves may be concern'd.

Seet. 5. There was in truth such a *shew* of the Life and Spirit of Christianity among 'em, as it was very hard to think all merely a Counterfeit : And 'tis known of how great Advantage to the Cause, the strict Behaviour and ceremonious Sanctity in the Conversations of those of this Fraternity was. And they asserted moreover, with the greatest boldness, that they taught no New Doctrine, nor corrupted any Old one ; but were Orthodox in their Faith, as well as Blameless in their Lives. They receiv'd with the highest seeming Veneration, the

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Scriptures of the Old and New Testament, together with the Form of Sound Words that was deliver'd to the Churches. Their Prophecies had an appearance of agreeing in all things with those in Holy Writ, but calculated for the present Time and State in which they lived. At the first they derogated not at all from the Honour of the Christian Priesthood, or of those that had the Government over them, only they seemed to lament, that the Apostolical Spirit, which had been first communicated by the Imposition of Hands, was then in a great measure departed from the Bishops and Clergy; so that they that sat in the Chair of Christ, and of his Apostles, were become (in their Opinion) Strangers to the very Spirit which was in Him and Them, and which ought to be the Seal of their Mission. And so hence, by degrees, they proceeded to lessen the Esteem which was due to the lawful Governours of the Church, before they actually withdrew from them their Obedience in all Cases subject to their Cognizance. And thus came great Disorders to creep in amongst them; the standing Rules and Principles of Decency and Order establish'd in the Church, as in subordination to their spiritual Superiors, being made to give way to whatever were taken for a Prophetick *Impetus*.

ARTICLE VII.

How their Revelations were tried by the Church, and rejected.

Sect. 1. **T**HE *Montanist* Prophecies beginning now to make some noise in the Church, amongst which those of *Maximilla* were chiefly taken notice

notice of, as which did consist for the most part of Predictions relating to the State thereof, and of the Civil Government, and must consequently have a considerable Influence, if receiv'd by the Christians; the Bishops of the *Lesser Asia*, and the neighbouring Parts, thought it their Duty to examine what Spirit it was, with which *Maximilla* was possessed: So that if it was a true Spirit, they might be obedient to the Call of God thereby, and prepare themselves for the Coming of the Bridegroom; but if it was a false Spirit that spoke and acted in her, they might both forewarn and forearm their Flock against giving heed to its Predictions, lest possibly by this means they might be even instrumental in drawing upon themselves those Evils which they were afraid would come to pass; and in forfeiting those good Things which they hoped for with a vain and fond Hope, that was without Foundation. Accordingly it was agreed on by them, soberly to consider her Prophetick Warnings, concerning the impending Judgments upon the Church, and great approaching Changes in the World, according to the Standard of the undoubtedly true Prophets. These then met to try this Spirit, and to speak unto it.

Sect. 2. But on the other side, certain of her Friends, and Persons of some Eminence, defended *Maximilla* and the Spirit that utter'd his Oracles through her; and would not give her leave to make the Trial, but with great Violence stopped their Mouths, and run against them. For these, being strongly pre-possessed, would not, or could not, bear so much as the calling in Question the Spirit of *Maximilla*; the Divinity whereof they most fondly suppos'd to be manifest beyond all doubt. Nothing then was more shocking to them, than that any one should attempt to discover it to be no better than a lying and delusive Spirit. This was what they could hardly find a Name bad

enough for, crying out against it as if it were to blaspheme the Holy Ghost, that had (they said) taken up this Woman: And among this number was *Themison*, that has been already mention'd: But *Julian* Bishop of *Apamea* resolutely withstood him, being a Person whose Probity and Piety was renouned throughout the whole Church, and with great Zeal contended for the Right of Christian Bishops, as the ordinary Judges in this Case since the Death of the Apostles. This passed at *Pepusa*, as we learn from *Apollonius*, an Author of that Age, who took the Pains to examine the Inspirations and Prophecies of this Tribe, and wrote a Book against them; a considerable Fragment of which we have preserv'd to us by *Eusebius*. He tells us also, how *Zoticus*, another of the Bishops that was at this Conference, endeavouring, as *Julian* before had done, to convince of Imposture, the Dæmon of *Maximilla*, was herein most strenuously oppos'd by her Favourers, who were very potent, and forced to give over his Design. This was some time in the Reign of the Emperor *Severus*.

Sect. 3. In like manner, when some of the other Bishops would have exorcis'd the Dæmon of *Priscilla*, and commanded him to depart, and offer'd to put the Issue of the Controversy hereupon; it would by no means be agreed to. The blessed *Sotas* was zealous in this matter; but he was also hinder'd by the *Hypocrites*, as *Julius* Bishop of *Debeltum*, a Roman Colony in *Thrace* expresses it, who was at the same time present, and concurr'd with him. The Catholics who had before suspected, were now by these Proceedings convinc'd, that they did not act with that Honesty which they pretended to; and that some at least among them only put on a Cover of Religion, the better to deceive, who knew they could not bear the Test when they were brought to it, and therefore fled from it. In vain was it therefore, that the Catholick Bishops, who had met

met together on purpose for this end, contended to bring this Affair to the ordinary Trial in such Cases: For they quickly saw, that if these Prophetesses were actually possess'd by a Spirit, and such as could not be a very good one, according to their Principles, the very same Spirit had after another manner taken also Possession of others about them, and fully instructed them in all the cunning Subterfuges, whereby to maintain their hold; so that there was no room left for any Conviction. The aforesaid *Julius* took the Account of what then passed, and attested the Truth thereof with an Oath, and gave it also signed under his Hand.

Sect. 4. Whence doubtless the *Synodicon* form'd its Council of *Aquileia*, wherein *Sotas Anchialensis*, as President, and a Dozen other Bishops, are related to have met, and to have convicted and condemned *Theodotus* and *Montanus*, who pretended to personate the Holy Ghost, assuming not only to speak in his Name, but as in his Person. At the same time were these his Women also condemn'd for prophesying falsely. *Priscilla* yet had the good Fortune here not to be taken so much notice of, as was *Maximilla*; the Reason of which might be this, that the Matter of false Prediction could not be so easily prov'd against her, as against her Sister Prophetesses, whose Revelations did more turn upon particular Events that were to be accomplished, and which did certainly fail. This is what was done in *Thrace*, for the putting a stop to the Growth of Enthusiasm there, towards the end of the Second Century. The same Method was also taken in some other Places thereabout, where the Spirit of *Montanus* had begun to spread it self.

Sect. 5. And if the Bishops of the neighbouring Provinces did testify so great a Zeal to remedy this Evil, and to cast out treacherous and counterfeit Spirits from the Assemblies of Christians; it is not at all to be wonder'd at, if the Churches of
Asia

Asia Minor, where this Spirit had its first Rise, made still greater Efforts to drive those that were infected with it out of their Bowels. The Clergy of this Province were therefore sundry times here-upon convened, as well as the Times would allow of, and in divers Places, both for better Security and Convenience, in order to consider of the proper Methods that were likely to stem this Tide which threaten'd to overflow them, and to bear down the ancient Banks: They carefully examin'd the several Discourses, whether Exhortatory or Predictory, pretended by these to be spoken under the Operation of the Spirit; the which they declar'd, upon the most severe and strict Scrutiny that was possible for them to make, to be Enthusiastical and Impious. They determin'd against these, after mature deliberation had, that it was not the Custom of the Spirit of God to extinguish and supersede the use of our natural Faculties, but rather to excite and enlighten them: They diligently admonish'd their Flocks against this pretended *New Light*, and extraordinary Manifestation, that so it might not lead them unawares into dangerous Paths, and leave them in the Dark: They watch'd in earnest against the Incurfion of evil Spirits, and Wolves in Sheeps clothing; against pestilent Heresies creeping into the Church by means of such fancied Revelation; against that which was call'd the *Phrygian* Heresy in particular, while as yet it was but in its Embryo only: They rejected, in a word, the whole Scheme of *Montanism*, both as to its New Discipline and New Inspiration, as having no sufficient Credentials: They judg'd it not compatible with the Charter of the Catholick Church, which had receiv'd the Right of Judicature over Spirits, and to which all the Promises do rightfully belong.

Sect. 6. Now the Reasons and Motives on which they went in thus censuring the *Montanist* Prophets,

phets, as they are here and there by several Authors deliver'd, may be reduc'd to these that follow, viz.

- I. ^a The Spirit of *Montanus*, and of his Prophets, could not be of the Spirit of *Christ*, because it was not the Spirit of the *Church*.
- II. The Spirit of these Prophets could not be the Spirit that was in the *Apostles* of *Christ*, because it could not bring the least Proof of its having been communicated from the said Apostles, or from any that had receiv'd it from them.
- III. The *Cataphrygian* Spirit could not be the Spirit of the Apostles, and consequently not of *Christ*, while it pretended to *greater* Prerogatives than those ever enjoy'd, or could lay claim to by vertue of the Promise of their Lord.
- IV. This could not be that Spirit which it pretended to be, because it wanted the *Marks* of the true Prophetical and Apostolical Spirit; and was not able to give that demonstration to others, which the Prophets and Apostles gave to the Truth of their Message, or indeed any demonstration at all.
- V. It could not be a true Divine Spirit which bereft the Possessed with it of the Use of those *Faculties*, which are God's Gift to us; nor a Spirit of *holy* Understanding, which by stripping them of *all* Understanding,

^a Euseb. Hist. Eccles. Epiph. Pan. Aug. Hær. Theodor.

turn'd them for the time into Brutes and Stocks.

VI. This Spirit was observ'd to be very unlike the Spirit which had appear'd in the Prophets of the New Testament ; as particularly, in *Agabus*, the Daughter of *Philip*, *Melito*, *Quadratus*, and *Ammia Philadelphensis* ; and very like the Spirit which had appear'd in the Heathen Prophets and Priests ; and particularly in the *Enurgumens*, who were by the Christians ordinarily dispossest'd in the Name and Spirit of Christ.

VII. There was no Obligation to receive that Spirit which refus'd to be tried, according to the standing Rules both in the *Jewish* and Christian Church ; or Reason to think that it could be the Spirit of *JESUS*, which would by no means submit to be *Adjur'd* in the Name of *JESUS*.

VIII. It could not be a true Spirit of Revelation from God, which utter'd any thing in his Name and Person that prov'd to be *false*. Wherefore the Spirit of *Maximilla*, and every Spirit which acknowledg'd hers to be a true Spirit, could not be from God ; since it was evidently made out, that certain Predictions of hers, being decisive, were never verified ; but on the contrary, notoriously baffled by the Success.

IX. It was not to be thought that any who were the Prophets and Messengers of the True God, would either give or take *Bribes*, as some of these did.

X. The

X. The Spirit of *Montanus* and his Apostles was not the Spirit of Christ and his, because instead of removing the heavy burden of *Legal* Observances, it was still for making it more heavy.

XI. The Authority of that Spirit could not be Divine, which was for encouraging *private* Persons to set up a new Order of Discipline in the Church, how Good and Holy soever in it self, and thereby despising an Authority in the *Rulers* of it, which was *certainly* Divine.

XII. The Spirit of these Prophets was not a Spirit of *Martyrdom*; for that, notwithstanding all their great boastings, and their express Declarations against the Lawfulness of retiring to avoid Persecution, none did more shamefully betray the Cause of Christianity, when they were brought to the Test.

These were the principal Grounds which mov'd the Bishops of *Asia* generally to disapprove the *Montanist* Spirit, not regarding its fair and specious Pretensions; and to condemn the same in several Provincial Synods held for that purpose.

They moreover urged,

I. That it was utterly unbecoming a true Prophet of God, to conform himself to the Fashions and Pomps of the World; or to affect a good Appearance, as by wearing soft Raiment, anointing or essencing the Hair, frequenting the Baths, according to the Custom of those Times, &c. which some of those were tax'd with.

II. That the Morals of some of their highest Pretenders were very corrupt; and that even some
that

that pass'd among them for Confessors and Martyrs, were indeed no better than real Criminals.

III. That the Women pretending to Prophecy, and not abiding in Subjection to their own Husbands, but leaving them under Pretence of obeying the Spirit, were very shrewdly to be suspected of not having the True Spirit.

Sect. 7. Thus it appears there was a Synod held at *Hierapolis*, in the Reign either of *Commodus* or *Severus*, where the pretended Prophets were proceeded against on the score of False Revelation. They try'd and condemn'd *Montanus*, *Maximilla*, and *Theodotus*; and cut them off from the body of the Church, as unworthy altogether of its Communion; while they were found to be possessed and acted by another Spirit than what had been convey'd by the Apostles. There were also about the same time, some other such Assemblies of the Eastern Bishops, both in *Phrygia* and other Parts, to put an end, if possible, to this matter; but none was more considerable than this of *Hierapolis*, the President whereof was the famous *St. Apollinaris*, that most zealous Defender of the Faith.

Sect. 8. And 'tis remarkable, that these were the very First Councils which Ecclesiastical History informs us of, next to that of *Jerusalem*, under the Apostles, mention'd in the *Acts*; since they are some Years earlier than those which were held about the Question of keeping *Easter*; which did not begin till about the Year CXCIV, when all the Churches had been long before alarm'd with the Pretensions of *Montanus* and his Followers.

Sect. 9. The exact Time indeed is not known when the *Montanists* were excommunicated by the Councils of *Asia*. But probably this could not be till after that *M. Aurelius* had left to the Christians, by his Death, the Liberty of meeting together in Councils; and after also that the Western Churches

Churches had been consulted, about both the Title of Prophets, which these Pretenders had taken up, and the new Austerities which they labour'd to introduce, without an Authority lawfully derived. For these Primitive Bishops saw it not fit to do any thing in an Affair of this nature, without the Consultation and Communication of their Brethren in all Parts: And thus what was done by the Bishops of one Province in a Synod, was so readily confirm'd by those of another, and the Sentence of Excommunication against those Three, and their Adherents, publish'd throughout the World.

Sect. 10. Now it is generally thought that *Montanus* was condemn'd by the Church, for blasphemously assuming to himself the Name and Title of the *Paraclet*, or the *Holy Ghost*, by an absurd Application of the Promises of Jesus Christ to himself; concerning his praying the ^a Father, that he should give his Church *another Comforter*, even that Spirit of Truth whom the World cannot receive. But this seems to have been invented in latter Times, lest he should appear to have been Anathematiz'd for an Heretick upon little or no ground. For certainly the greatest ^b Doctors of the Church, as has been observ'd by some before now, would never have been at such Pains, and wrote so many learned Books in order to confute him, had he been really guilty of so gross and mad a Blasphemy. Neither is it to be thought, that he could have had in those early Times, so very near the Apostles, almost any Follower at all, had he been either such a wild Enthusiast, or such an open Blasphemer against the Holy Ghost: Whereas his Heresy spread over all *Cilicia, Cappadocia, Pontus, Galatia, Phrygia*, and *Italy*; *Rome* it self not excepted, infected many Persons of the greatest Eminence, and lasted several Ages. And besides it is very strange,

^a John xiv. 16.

^b Petavius, Rigaltius, Du Pin.

that if he were guilty of so horrid a Blasphemy, neither *Apollinaris* nor *Appollonius*, nor *Serapion*, who were his Contemporaries, and his profess'd Adversaries, should ever know any thing of it; or if they did, should, as *Petavius* has observ'd, not take the least notice of it. Wherefore the same *Petavius* concludes, That it must needs have been a Fictitious Heresy impos'd upon him, for the better colour to the Proceedings against him. And accordingly Mr. *Dodwell* also confesses, in a very learned Dissertation upon the ancient Heresies, That when *Miltiades* wrote against *Montanus* and his Prophetesses, ^a *Nondum Hereseos nomen consecuti essent Montanistæ*, The *Montanists* were not yet held for Hereticks; and therefore could not be guilty of so staring and capital an Heresy as this laid to his Charge; wherefore, as he well observes, *Miltiades* did not oppose that Sect [of the *Montanists*] on the Account of *Heresy* ^b, but of *False Prophecy*. The same may be said of others also, who first engag'd in this Controversy, as already hath been hinted. But their Prophecies being tried and rejected by the Church, in the manner that has been declar'd, they were at length, for their Obstinacy in still persisting to own the same as purely from God, and for setting up also in Obedience hereto, a new and voluntary Discipline, without due Authority, cast out of the same, and reputed for Hereticks.

Sect. II. And thus, upon their being cast out of the Church, they agreed, by the Direction and Command of that Spirit which had been so anathematiz'd, to raise a *new Church*, according to what they took to be the most perfect Model; which was to consist of none but what were Spiritual. And

^a Dissert. iv. in Iren. §. 38. p. 371.

^b Immo ne quidem *Heresis*, sed *Pseudoprophetia* nomine Sectam illam oppugnavit *Miltiades*. *Ibid.*

they did accordingly appoint an Hierarchy and Government among them, as the said Spirit did order in every thing, which was in opposition to that among the Catholicks. Thus Altar being set up against Altar, and Priesthood against Priesthood, the *Schism* was actually form'd; and after that they soon came also to be call'd an *Heresy*. But after what manner they constituted themselves into the Form of a Church, upon this Separation; what they were for some time afterward, both as to Doctrine and Discipline; what their Mysteries were; and what Form of Government was by them set up; it may be worth our while to make the best Inquiry that we can, and to use in this matter all the Candor and Impartiality that a sober Search after Truth requires. Wherefore I proceed then to shew, how the *Montanists* being excommunicated by the Governours of the Church, repented not, but proceeded to form a new Church after their Own, after their Mode: which may serve to afford us many Reflections and Observations, that may be of standing Use, while human Nature remains subject to such a number of Infirmities and Temptations.

ARTICLE VIII.

How the Montanists hereupon form'd a new Church, and condemn'd the Catholicks.

Sect. i. **T**HE *Montanists* having been thus condemn'd, and driven out of the Church, by the Bishops of *Asia* met in Council, those of the West, after some time, consenting and concurring,

their Expulsion gave occasion to the bitter Lamentations and Complaints of that Spirit which possessed them by the Mouth of *Maximilla* their Arch-prophetess, when in Ecstasie, that he was driven from the Faithful People, *even as a Wolf is driven from the Sheep*. But not only were they driven out of the Church, but they even separated themselves; which alters the Case not a little: They of their own accord withdrew, ἀπέχιστο made a Schism from the Catholick Body, by cleaving to their own Fancies and wild Enthusiasms, which they mistook for the Operations of the Holy Spirit. Nay, it is farther said, that they boasted themselves of having left the Communion of the Church, on account of those high and extraordinary Favours and Graces they pretended to, as not being able longer to bear with that Deadness and Formality which they charg'd upon the Catholicks. And nothing certainly is more true, than that they put a very high Value upon themselves, for having, as they conceiv'd, the *Spirit of Truth* abiding with them, whom *the World*, that is, as many as they call'd *Psychical*, was not able to receive: So that the Sentence which was passed against them, and against the Spirit that made use of their Organs, did but the more confirm them, instead of convincing them. Wherefore also, the very same Author that acquaints us with their being *excommunicated* by the Church, makes no difficulty to call them a *Schismatical Heresy*; thereby implying, that they made a *Schism* in the Church, and began to separate themselves as *more Holy* than the rest, before they were formally cut off by it. Or at least thus much may safely be concluded, that they either prevented the Sentence of the Church, by first going out of it themselves; or else that they confirm'd it by their Obstinacy, and in setting up Altar against Altar; which the Complaints of *Maximilla* render most probable: As doth also that strange Air of Confidence, with which

which she, and they, or rather those deluding Spirits which spoke through them, did reproach and vilify the Holy Catholick Church spread over the Earth; because she, as the Spouse of Christ, rejected every where their New Order of Prophecy, discerning his Voice from the Voice of a Stranger. This is what appears in all the Books which *Tertullian* wrote when he was turn'd *Montanist*.

Sect. 2. But whether it were one way or the other, 'tis certain they were separated from the Communion of the Faithful, and that they form'd a New Church. And we see clearly enough in *Tertullian*, that they had their Assemblies and Synaxes different from those of the Catholicks in the time of Pope *Victor*, who sat in the Chair from *Anno* CXCII unto CCI, according to the Learned Memorialist; but not so long, according to others of great Eminence for their Chronological Skill. And it is a matter of the utmost Notoriety, that they arrogated to themselves the Title of Spiritual Persons, or *Pneumatical*, giving to those who rejected their False Prophecies, the Name of *Psychical*, or Animal; that is, such as were without the Spirit.

Sect. 3. Notwithstanding this, they omitted not to court the Communion of the Western Church, and particularly of Pope *Victor*, when they saw him embroil'd with the Catholicks of *Asia*, about the Matter of *Easter*. And he suffer'd himself to be surpriz'd with their Artifices; so that he receiv'd them into Communion, according to the Opinion of several Learned Men, while those that had condemn'd them were by him put out of Communion upon a meer Trifle. For having excommunicated the *Asiatick* Churches for not observing *Easter* the same Day as at *Rome*, he approv'd the Prophecies of *Montanus*, *Prisca*, and *Maximilla*; and by this Approbation became *Montanist*. So he gave Peace hereby, in the Opinion of *Tertullian*, to the

Churches in *Asia* and *Phrygia*; granting his Communicatory Letters to *Montanus*, and as many as were in Communion with him.

Sect. 4. But soon after this, *Praxeas*, a Person of notable Dexterity, came out of *Asia*, and by the Representation he gave of these Prophets, and of the Churches in Communion with them, made *Victor* entertain another Opinion of them than before he had; and caused the poor Pope to retract the Communicatory Letters which he had, they say, by surprize granted in behalf of the *Montanists*. It is certain he got the Pope's Ear, and obtain'd his End of him; who, perceiving him to be a mighty Reasoner, and one that was also at that time considerable in the Church, though in spiritual Matters not very apt to believe beyond what he could comprehend; was not unwilling to gratify him, as well as the Christians in the East, from whom he brought Letters, in an Affair that had all the appearance of Reason and Equity. True it is, that *Tertullian* gives this *Praxeas* the Character of a very proud, pragmatical Person; who being vainly puff'd up with the false Title of a *Martyr*, which he was pleas'd to give himself, because he had been for some time in Prison for the Faith; and being of a restless and ambitious Spirit, went to *Rome* on purpose to spread there the Poison of his Heresy against the Blessed Trinity: From whence he went afterwards to *Africa*, as we are inform'd, and there made some Disciples; but was convinc'd by one that held the Catholick Faith, of that Mystery (probably by *Tertullian* himself) and obliged to give under his Hand a formal Retraction of his Heresy. But after having disguised it for a time, he publish'd it afresh. And thus it was that *Tertullian*, who had before refuted him, it seems, while he was yet a Catholick, writ his Book against him when he was turn'd *Montanist*: In which he accuses him of bearing false Witness at *Rome* against the

the Prophets; but mentions not the Pope's Name whom he so prevail'd upon.

Sect. 5. Bishop ^a *Pearson* is of Opinion, that Pope *Eleutherius*, in pursuance of the Letters of the Martyrs of *Lions*, interceding for the Peace of the Church, did grant accordingly Peace to the Church, by owning the Prophecies of *Montanus*. And ^b *Valesius* seems also to have been in the same Sentiment with this Learned Bishop. For he says, that *Eleutherius*, being strongly moved hereto by the Martyrs of *Lions*, had written expressly into *Asia*, to make the *Montanists* be received into the Church. Which it is plain he understands of receiving them into it, not as Penitents, but as approving their Revelations; seeing that he founds it upon the very Passage of *Tertullian* against *Praxeas*. And indeed, if the Letters of those Martyrs did occasion this Proceeding of the Pope, it is not so very improbable, as some may think, that he should interest himself for them in such a manner as this; or that this was *Eleutherius*. But our Author of the *Memoires for an Ecclesiastical History*, in his Notes ^c upon the *Montanists*; as thinking this greatly injurious to this Pope, and prejudicial to the Church whereof he is a Member, labours to overthrow what had been advanced by those Two great Men. However he concludes, “ That it
“ would be no such difficulty to believe, that both
“ *Eleutherius* and the said Martyrs of *Lions*, in
“ condemning the Errors of the *Montanists*, did
“ yet beg that they might be treated with Indul-
“ gence, when they should be received into the
“ Church upon their Submission, were there but
“ Proof for the Matter of Fact, that it was indeed
“ so. Which he is very unwilling to yield to,
and therefore has spent one whole Article ^d in his

^a Differt. II. de Success. Pontiff. c. 9. ^b Ad Euseb. l. 5. c. 3.

^c Notes sur la Montanistes, III. & IV. Tom. II. p. 124, &c.

^d Art. III. p. 37.

History of *Montanism*, to make out that the Martyrs of *France* did both by their Actions and by their Letters, condemn the *Montanists*; of which there will be occasion hereafter to speak more.

^a *Baronius* and ^b *Rigaltius* do both date the Communicatory Letters of the Church of *Rome* with the *Montanists* of *Asia* and *Phrygia* yet earlier, even in the Pontificate of *Anicetus*, and particularly about the Year CLXXIII. But their Authorities are not very convincing. Some again do place them Four Years after this.

Sect. 6. However it be, thus much at least is undeniably certain, that one of the Bishops of *Rome* was (if not a *Montanist*) a Favourer of the *Montanists*; whether it were ^c *Anicetus*, ^d *Eleutherius*, or ^e *Victor*; or, Lastly, ^f *Zephyrinus*; for each of whom there are not wanting Learned Vouchers: And that there were Communicatory Letters from the Church of *Rome* granted to the *Montanists*; and that even then too, when they were excommunicated by the *Asiatick* Churches. The shifts that *Baronius*, *Valesius*, *Tirlemont*, and other Writers of that Church are put to, that they may excuse this as well as they can, by supposing this was a Question then undecided, and wherein no determination had been hitherto made; are so plain, as there is no great fear of their imposing upon any. As for *Praxeas*, whatever his true Character might be, it cannot be denied but he was chiefly instrumental in the Revocation of the Pope's Letters of Communion: To whom he remonstrated, that if he receiv'd the Revelation of *Montanus* and the new Prophets, he must by that one Act give up all his Prede-

^a Annal. ad Ann. 173. §. 4. ^b Tertull. Rig. p. 105. 2.

^c Baron. & Spondanus. Ann. 173. ^d Vales. Euseb. N. 91. 1.
^e Pearl. p. 255.

^f Rhenan. ad Tertull. J. Hig. de Hær. Sect. II. Cave Hist. Liter. p. 37. Allix de Vita & Scr. Tert.

^g Pamel. in Vit. Tert. Dodw. de Succ. Rom. Pontiff. c. 13.

cessors, who could not have receiv'd the Spirit of Truth, the Holy *Paraclet*, promis'd by Christ, if the *Montanists* were in the right; seeing that they pretended that this Promise was not accomplish'd but in the Person of *Montanus* alone. And thus, *Prædecessorum ejus auctoritates defendendo*, by vindicating the Authority of his Predecessors, he brought him to a sense of his former Mistake, and to disdain the ungrounded Authority of this Pretender to Infallibility. Besides which he further added, as *Valesius* at least thinks, how that the New Revelations, or New Dispensation of the pretended Prophets, had already been actually disown'd by some of the preceding Popes; as particularly by *Soter* and *Eleutherius*: But that even granting that these had done nothing at all against the said Prophets and Prophetesses, among the *Montanists*, it was nevertheless true, that he could not receive them to Communion without manifestly opposing himself to the known Sentiments and Decisions of his Predecessors, who had rejected several things which were maintain'd by the *Montanists*; as their condemnation of Second Marriages, and several Matters of Discipline. Now it appears that *Praxeas* was not an Heretick before the Pontificate of *Victor*^a, but that he fell into Heresy after the appearance of the two *Theodoti*, the Elder of whom made no noise before *Victor* fill'd the See of *Rome*; and by consequence the Letters both of Communion and Revocation could not be before the Time of that Pope; who may also well enough be suppos'd to have been more susceptible than any other, either before or after him, of what the *Montanist* Missionaries might say to him against the Orthodox Bishops of *Asia*, on account of that Dispute which he had with them about the Feast of *Easter*, and which

^a Tert. Præscr. c. 53. Euseb. E. H. lib. 5. c. 28.

transported him to such strange and unaccountable Excesses.

Sect. 7. The *Montanists* rejoiced not a little to be sure, to have so the Bishop and Church of *Rome* declaring on their side; and boasted of their great Authorities and Numbers against the Catholics. And had not *Praxeas* so soon interpos'd with the Pope in this Case, we should doubtless have heard a great deal about their *Appeals* to *Rome*. However, it was of great Advantage to them; and the more so, because this Favour was not granted them by a Pope, under whom they began, and who thence might more easily be allow'd to be surpriz'd into it; but by one whose Predecessors had been of another Opinion, and who might now reasonably be thought to be better instructed in the Matter, than they could be, after so long canvassing of it on both sides. And it is truly remarkable, that this was after (not before) the Excommunication which has been mention'd, when they had actually their publick Religious Assemblies, as well as the Orthodox: and when they had *form'd*, in consequence of their being so excommunicated, to themselves a *New Church*; or, as they would rather have it *reform'd* the *Old*.

ARTICLE IX.

Of their Plea, and Appeals.

Sect. 1. **F**OR they pretended, in the Establishment of their separate Communion, that they were not the Innovators; but the Catholics who had condemn'd them, whom they look'd on but as Carnal and outside Christians, that had departed from their First Love, and so had not the true

true Taste of the Spirit of God, or of his Holy Inspirations: Wherefore they appealed also to Catholick Prescription, and the Custom of the Church, as if it were wholly on their side. Their Learned Men undertook by Arguments drawn from thence, to defend their Cause, and seem'd to desire nothing so much as to be thereby determin'd. And one of the first Rank among them has so discharg'd himself upon this Head, without taking yet the least notice of his principal Intent in Writing, or giving any suspicion of the true Cause thereof, as even to pass for it not only uncensur'd, but even commend-ed by those from whose Communion he stood cut off. This was as an oblique Appeal to those Bishops that had expell'd the *Montanists* from their Communion, and an insinuation, that they had not proceeded herein as Catholick Bishops.

Sect. 2. Moreover they appeal'd to foreign Churches, particularly to those of *Italy* and *Gaul*; and probably wrote *Encyclical Letters* to those and all the other Christian Churches throughout the World, as the manner then was, to give them an Account of their Faith and Doctrine; to acquaint them how they had been dealt with; to desire the continuance of their Communion; and to beg withal their Assistance, according to the Rights and Customs in such Cases, of the Catholick Church, and of all the particular Churches Members thereof, then universally acknowledg'd. Nor can there any doubt be made, but that on the other side the *Asiatick* Bishops did regularly acquaint their Colleague Bishops with their Churches, in all Parts, of these their proceedings, and the Grounds they had to take such severe measures.

Sect. 3. Now as there arose at the same time a Dissention betwixt the Eastern and Western Churches, about the true time of keeping *Easter*, (which has been already hinted) the *Montanists* knew very well how to make their Advantages hereof.

hereof: For as they were excommunicated by some Eastern Bishops, so were these again excommunicated by the great Western Bishop. Thus their excommunication being declar'd invalid at *Rome*, they were actually receiv'd into Communion with that Church, and the Churches communicating with it, while the others that had condemn'd them were excluded; till at length after farther Informations, the same Bishop and Church withdrew their Communicatory Letters to them, and so excommunicated them too. And thus stood they condemn'd now by the Churches both of the East and the West, and cast entirely out of their Communion.

Sect. 4. As for the Christians of *Gaul*, they were very moderate it seems in this matter; and the Church of *Lions* acted with more Prudence, as well as Tenderness on both sides than that of *Rome*. For there are sufficient grounds to conclude, that they did not actually communicate with the *Montanists*, after they were condemn'd by the Eastern Bishops; and no less to believe, that they thought a Reconciliation was not so unfeasible, as some might imagine; and that it was best to re-admit them into Communion upon as easy Terms as the Case would bear, and as was consistent with Catholick Principles. There was a noble Confessor of the Church, by Name *Alcibiades* ^a, who was for a while much inclin'd to the Austerity of their Discipline; but was withal as much (if not more) for maintaining the Rights and Powers of the Catholick Church, and one who earnestly sought the Peace, Unity and Concord of all Christians.

Sect. 5. This holy Man living in great Retirement and Mortification, that he might the better enjoy Communion with God, being thereby transform'd from the Fashion of the World, was yet in

^a Euseb. Hist. Eccles. l. 5. c. 1, 2, 3.

no little danger of falling into fundry Irregularities through the Excess or Indiscretion of his Zeal. Wherefore it pleas'd God then, when he was cast into Prison for the Confession of a sound Faith, and had made a Resolution to live there only upon Bread and Water, to which he had before accustomed himself, he should be directed what he ought to do by a Message from Heaven, testifying how much he was accepted: For the Lord reveal'd himself in a Vision to one that was a Companion of his Bonds, and bad him go tell *Alcibiades* that he was in the Wrong, not to use God's Creatures lawfully, and thereby to give occasion to others, through his Example, to fall also into the same Fault with him. Thus the same Spirit of God which leads ordinarily the Saints to Mortification and Penitence, commanded St. *Alcibiades* to moderate his, for fear lest he should seem to authorize the irregular and superstitious Rigours which *Montanus* impos'd upon his Followers. So St. *Alcibiades*, and the rest of the Martyrs and Confessors of the said Church at *Lions*, were then convinc'd how much better the Obedience of the Heart is, than all such Sacrifices and bodily Exercises: And ever after this, contrary to the Custom of the *Montanists*, who were always for treating the Lapsed with the extremest Severity; they delighted to signalize their Charity and Compassion towards them, for which they are by the Author of their History not a little commended to Posterity.

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ARTICLE X.

Of the Form of their Establishment when they had their separate Churches.

Sect. 1. **N**OW the *Montanists* being thus condemn'd, not only by the Churches in *Asia*, but by those in *Europe* also; and the Letters Supplicatory of the Martyrs, which were sent both to the Bishops of the East and of the West, not having had their desir'd success for Peace; they proceeded more firmly to establish what they had already but begun, while some sort of Submission was own'd by them, as due to the Authority of their Church, whereof they once acknowledg'd themselves Members. But it appears not that they made any alteration considerable in the Establish'd Government of the same; but pretending only to reform some Abuses, continued it down as much as they found it. It is true, they were for having all chosen out of the Prophetical Order, that were to be Officers in the Church; and held that none were to be receiv'd into the Priesthood or Presbytery, without an express Designation of the Holy Ghost, and without some visible Manifestation [*ᾠανερροσις*] of the Divine Uction, as resting upon them. And thus there was a Subordination both of the Episcopal and Priestly Orders to the Spirit in *Montanus*, and in his Prophets. But by their Pretences to Infallibility of Revelation in an *higher Order*, than either Priests or Bishops must lay claim to, though even made partakers of the Heavenly Gift themselves, according to what was requir'd for their Office and Dignity in the Church; the Episcopal Throne was depress'd contrary to the Practice of all the Churches, and was thus brought

in subjection to a certain upstart Order, that could produce no Title by the *old* Charter, and therefore invented a *new* one: By virtue of which new Charter, said forsooth to descend miraculously from Heaven, and to have been seal'd as at a Second *Pentecost*, with the Seal of the *Paraclet* deliver'd to *Montanus*, there was by them set up their *new Church*, as the most perfect Church that ever yet had been upon the Earth; and their *Pepuza* was to be the Mother and Mistress of all the Churches from that time forward.

Sect. 2. They moreover multiply'd the number of Bishops very much, without any apparent Cause, and so render'd them far less considerable, their Subjects being but few; for not only every City, but almost every little Town or Borrough, where they inhabited, had a Bishop. Their Presbyters continu'd in subjection to their Bishops, as among the Catholics; but both by the unnecessary multitude of such Bishops, and by the Claim of the one no less than the other to an extraordinary and prophetical Mission, the distinction which was left betwixt a Presbyter and a Bishop, could not be indeed very great.

Sect. 3. Whence the first Presbyterian Church that we ever read of was set up by one reported to be a *Montanist*; or at least a Favourer of those Pretenders: it was *Blastus*, a certain Greek Presbyter^a, who, being for Disobedience interdicted by his Bishop, would nevertheless keep up his Assembly still, in opposition to the Authority of the Bishop. St. *Irenaeus* wrote a Letter hereupon to him, thinking to reclaim him to his Duty; in which he charg'd him not with any particular Heresy, but with Schism only, in dividing from the Church. This was presently after the Death of *M. Aurelius*, and just about the time as the *Montanists* being cut

^a Vid. Dodw. Diss. in Iren. 6. §. 3, 4.

off from the Communion of the Catholick Church, had form'd to themselves another after their manner; for it was in the Third Year of his Successor *Commodus* that *St. Irenaeus* wrote that Letter to *Blastus*.

Sect. 4. Now having thus form'd themselves into a Church, under Bishops and Presbyters, and set over them a Patriarchate, as by appointment of the Holy Ghost, for the greater Unity of Discipline and Worship; they not only met as before, in a little Number, for the exercise of spiritual Gifts, but had their publick Synaxes in like manner as the Catholicks that had excluded them, and gave forth also, in pursuance hereof their Communicatory Letters, as the Custom was. In these their Assemblies for Divine Worship, they conform'd themselves to the Catholick Practice, in matters not otherwise determin'd by that Spirit which had the Guidance of them. They met not only upon every Lord's Day in the Place appointed for publick Divine Service, but most strictly observ'd the Stations of *Wednesdays* and *Fridays*: They continu'd a long while at their Prayers upon these Days: They waited for the Descent of the Spirit to fill those that were set apart to minister in holy Things: They made both their Men and Women in these Assemblies observe the Orders of *St. Paul*, as more particularly about the use of the Veil: They kept the *Saturday* as a Sabbath, or Holy Day, as well as the *Sunday*; upon these Days, *viz. Saturdays* and *Sundays*, their Custom was to pray *standing*, as likewise the whole Interval betwixt *Easter* and *Whitsontide*: They held it unlawful to Fast upon a *Saturday*, which they kept constantly as a Day of Feasting and Rejoycing, except the *Saturday* of the *Sepulchre*, or the *Eve* of the *Resurrection*; which was always observ'd by them as a most strict Fast, in Memory of our Lord's Body lying dead in the Bowels of the Earth: They
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kneel'd in Prayer upon other Days, and particularly at their Stations Ordinary or Extraordinary: They adored with the Body as a visible Sign of the Adoration of the Mind: They frequently prostrated themselves upon the Earth, in Token of their ascribing Glory to God by their own Debasement: They worshipp'd Christ towards the East, after the manner of other Christians. And they had besides several Symbolical Rites and Customs, as in Habits, Gestures, and the like, which Tradition had establish'd, and the Usage of the Church (according to one of their own Writers) authoriz'd.

Sect. 5. They were (or seem'd to be) zealous above most, for the Traditions of the Elders, and would not seem to innovate in old Customs, but only superadded something to what was already receiv'd. They would suffer nothing to be taken away, but they chose to add rather continually to the Word of God, partly from the Traditions of Men, and partly from the Inspirations of a certain Spirit among them, which they knew not. By the means of which Spirit they established certain Rules and Orders among themselves; some of which were to be more common unto all; but others were Secret, for the Use only of such as were more advanc'd, and separated for some Administration in this Society. So they now made themselves a Publick Society after the Institution of this Spirit, under Officers and Governors of his Appointment; of which they fancy'd to themselves, that all the World should in a short time become Members: And within the Publick they had also a more Private Society, to which their Mysteries were chiefly communicated. With these last were kept the Books of their Religion, which mightily increased upon them every Day. And it was impossible it should be otherwise upon their Principles, while, departing from the Simplicity of the Gospel

Gospel of Truth, they were for heaping up at this rate continually all the Dictates of that Spirit; which, by having a shew of Holiness, had brought them into subjection under it.

Sect. 6. They pretended nevertheless by this to honour the Lord *JESUS*, and to glorify him the more for the accomplishment of his Promise, in having given them, as they thought, this Counsellor and Comforter to abide with them. They were also for making a Fence about the Christian Law, in like manner as the *Scribes* and *Pharisees* of old about the *Mosaical* Law, for the better Defence and Security of it: And therefore were they so very scrupulous about the smallest Matters, even as about the greatest: They had the Holy Scriptures read among them in their Assemblies, in like manner as in those of the Catholics; but they had also the Books of their own Sibyls, with several other Apocryphal pieces. And as the Canon of the New Testament was not at that time yet so clearly and universally fix'd, as it was some time after, this gave a mighty occasion to them to receive not only some Writings of doubtful Credit, and place them in the same Rank with the most undoubted; but likewise to proceed so far as to canonize what was of no Credit at all among any but themselves, yea, had been besides positively condemn'd by the Church. They read the Books of the Old Testament when they were met together, no less than of the New; but especially the Prophetical ones, in which they most delighted. They shew'd a great reverence for the Old Prophets; but this was to shew still a greater for the New ones, as more highly favour'd of God than any before them: For this was conformable to their main Fundamental, which was for certain no other than this that follows, if we can believe the Relation that is made of it both by Friends and Enemies.

Sect. 7. They asserted a *gradual Manifestation* of the Grace of God, from the first Beginning to the utmost Limit of Time, in order to the perfect Restoration of Mankind from the Fall : And therefore they held, that this Divine Grace and Righteousness was in the beginning of *Nature* no more than as in its Cradle ; that the Time of the *Law* and the Prophets was the Childhood thereof ; that the Time of the *Gospel*, or the Apostolical Dispensation, was as the Youth ; but that the Perfection thereof, or the Full Manhood, was only to be found in the Instructions of the *Holy Ghost*, whom only (and not Man) they pretended to hear, as believing him to speak by the Mouth of *Montanus*.

Sect. 8. For the *first Montanists* at least, did not think *Montanus* to be the Holy Ghost, as some have too hastily advanced ; but only that he was inspired of the Holy Ghost, and by him sent forth to reform and to perfect the Discipline of the Church. And not only did they attribute this to *Montanus*, but also to several of his Disciples, and chiefly to the Women ; whom they fancied to be full of the Holy Ghost, and wholly acted thereby, in order to the revealing of such a New and glorious Dispensation as had never before been. There were among them, beside those that have been nam'd, many that had, or pretended to have, Revelations, and to prophesy of Future Things ; all which was by them utter'd, even as if they had been the very Mouth of the Divine Spirit. As they fell into their Agitations, or into Ecstasies, there was the greatest Attention and Earnestness that was possible in those that waited about them, that so nothing might be lost of what was pronounced by them, while under the Operation of that Spirit which so violently enter'd into them. They that were of their Fraternity, or Sect, were in a manner transported with every thing, though never so mean, that came from them ; either in the Agitation

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tion, or presently after that they came to themselves. They believed all that was in this manner deliver'd to be true Divine Revelations, and the very Dictates of the Eternal Spirit, whereof it was not permitted to doubt in the least. They gave them Permission, whenever they pleas'd, to speak in their Assemblies; and so soon as the Signs began to appear upon them, the rest prepared to give Ear unto them, as unto the Oracles of God. What they order'd was obey'd; and they scrupled not to think, that these had more Power and Authority than the Priests and Bishops. And thus was the Christian Priesthood undermin'd by these Pretenders to an extraordinary and unlimited Mission.

Sect. 9. This was the occasion that there was very little of Order or of Regularity in their Assemblies: For on whomsoever the Agitations seized, whether Man or Woman, whether Young or Old, the Person so agitated was not to be restrain'd; the Authority of the Bishop himself, if present, being held by them not sufficient to lay an Interdict in this case. Since to stop the Mouth of him or her, that was speaking under such Agitations, was accounted no less than the *quenching the Spirit, and forbidding to prophecy.*

Sect. 10. As for the rest, they observed a most strict and austere Discipline: They for ever depriv'd of the Communion all, that after Baptism were so unhappy as to fall into any heinous or capital Sin: Not only those who had committed Murder or Idolatry, but those likewise who had fallen into Fornication, or into Adultery, were at the Hour of their Deaths debar'd from it. They believed that it was forbidden them to flee in the time of Persecution; and so they ran earnestly, many of them, to embrace Death. In Mortifications and Fastings they appeared to exceed all that were not of their Party, and even to go beyond the Power of human Nature.

Nature. In Labours and Exercises, in Watchings and outward Humiliations they abounded above all: Fervent in Zeal, and not able to bear with what did not come up to their Standard of Perfection. They seemed to carry Chastity to the highest pitch, recommending the State of Virginitie to *all*, and commending it to *some*: And allowing of none but the *first* Marriages, and those only for the sake of Children, after the manner of the *Essenes*, whom in the severity of their Discipline they seem'd much to imitate. It is plain, they held as but one Faith, one Lord, and one Baptism, ^a so also but *one* Marriage, according to the Mystery of Christ and the Church, that they would have thereby to be represented. They look'd therefore upon the repetition of this Mystery as a sort of *Sacrilege*: They extremely declaim'd against it, as a most clear indication of the meer Psychical and Natural Life: A *Bigamist* and an *Adulterer* were Terms among them in a manner Reciprocal: They drew many Arguments for this *Unity* on Earth, as it is in Heaven, from the Originals and Anti-types which are Above. *Private* Marriages were also interdicted by them for the same Reason as the *second*: For as much as if they were not publickly celebrated in the Church, they were not by them thought fit to represent before it, that Mystical Union which is betwixt the Church and her Head and Husband, but were condemn'd as nearly approaching to Fornication and Adultery. For, *occultæ conjunctiones, id est, non prius apud Ecclesiam professæ* (saith one of them that perfectly understood their Sentiments) *juxta machinam & fornicationem judicari periclitantur*. Nay, they even stretch'd the Point of Chastity so far, as not only to admit, but even recommend the Separation of

^a Tertull. de Monogom. throughout, and elsewhere. Id. de Pudic. c. 4. p. 718. Euseb. l. 5. c. 18.

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Some marry'd Persons, though all had been transacted in the Face of the Church, under pretence of Greater Purity, and nearer attendance upon God.

Sect. 11. So soon as this Sect with such Pretensions began to appear, it deceiv'd therefore abundance of well-meaning Christians, through the appearance of Perfection and Sanctity which it had. "For on the one side, as a learned Historian hath express'd it, the Austerity of their manner of Living gave Weight and Credit to their Revelations : And on the other, their Revelations made their Discipline to be embraced. Nothing could be ever invented more plausible to take with the more Zealous, and seduce almost the very Elect. Both their Revelations and their Discipline were not a little recommended by that Affectation which they shew'd, to crown them with Martyrdom. It was a receiv'd Point of Doctrine amongst them, as was hinted above, ^a that it was never lawful for a Christian to flee from Persecution, and much less to buy it off with Money. Nay, they assembled so publickly, and celebrated the Christian Mysteries so openly in the sight of the Sun, when the Edicts of the Emperors were most severe against all such *Heteria*, or Societies, convening for Religious Worship, contrary to the receiv'd Rites and Laws ; as if they even meant to provoke and irritate hereby the Infidels, and to draw upon themselves Persecution. But this vain Ostentation of a rash and extravagant Courage did oftentimes, in the Hour of Trial, most wretchedly betray it self. They that at first out-dar'd all the Tortures of the Persecutors, did afterwards most basely sneak, and let all the World see through this Covert, their real and shameful Cowardice. Such is the Infirmary of human Nature. For they could not make it appear, that any of their first Prophets, or any

^a Tertull. de Fug. c. 14. p. 700.

of those that had a mind to imitate them ; of whom there were not a few both Men and Women, could rightfully pretend to the Glory of Martyrdom : Wherefore they were challeng'd by the Catholicks to shew ^a, that either *Montanus*, or his Prophetesses, or any of their next Successors, who would needs seem to speak as they did, and to copy after their Inspirations, were either persecuted for this by the *Jews*, or put to Death by the *Romans* ; or that so much as *one* of them, when it came to the Test, was found able to seal the Confession of the Name of Jesus Christ, or to *resist unto Blood*. However, when they could not deny the Matters of Fact which star'd them in the Face, no doubt but the common Salvo was ready ; that this Failure was not to be attributed to any defect in the Discipline it self, or in the Revelations on which it was founded, but to the general Weakness which is rooted in our Natures. And they concluded it hard from any *personal Failings*, to condemn a Discipline that was so supported, and deliver'd after such a manner for the immediate Command of God. Of which more in the next Article.

ARTICLE XI.

Of their Discipline.

Sect. 1. **T**HE Discipline of the *Montanists* was in all the Points of it extremely rigorous : They refus'd Absolution to almost all Sins ; that is, to all those which they call'd *Deadly* and *Capital*, except committed before Baptism ; thereby taking even from the Church the power of Open-

ing and Shutting, or of receiving Penitents to her Communion. And many by this means were brought to Despair; and others, as taking God to be an harsh and unreasonable Master, regarded not the wholesome Discipline that was appointed for their Cure, but pursued their evil Courses to their own Destruction. They however excus'd themselves as to these Consequences, which they would not allow to follow from their Principles: And they distinguish'd two sorts of Penitence, the one before, the other after Baptism. Their penitential Discipline before Baptism consisted in long Watchings, Fastings, and Prayers, to the extrem Maceration of their Bodies: For without Penance and Mortification preceding, they held Baptism to be insignificant and ineffectual. Wherefore they thought it more adviseable for the Catechumens to defer receiving this Sacrament, till by the help of this preparatory Discipline they should be internally cleansed and purged; than to precipitate the same, and so receive it without the Heavenly Seal. This they carry'd very far, and so strain'd the Truth beyond what it could bear, while they would be over-cautious: The which was because they had laid down this as a Maxim, That the Baptism of the Heart must always prepare for the Baptism of the Body: And had in consequence hereof resolv'd, that this initiatory Sacrament was not to be administred to any, only with a prospect, That being then Absolv'd from all Sin, they might go Sin no more; but even because they had already ceas'd from sinning, and were actually purg'd and baptiz'd in their Minds through a salutary Discipline, *Quia jam corde loti*^a, as one of them speaks. Hence they did not easily admit young and unmarried Persons, lest they might happen to be overcome afterward by Temptation, and

so be lost; but they made them generally wait either till they were married, or were confirm'd in a State of Continence; which they put a very high Value upon, in comparison of the other State. They were for the same reason against pressing of Infants Baptism, though they seem not to have dis-allow'd it in cases of Necessity: They pleaded, that Christ hindred not Children from coming to him indeed, but that they were to come to him as they advance in Age; as they learn the Principles of his Religion, and as they are capable of being taught whether they are going: They said that was the proper Time for them to be made *Christians*, when they were come to the Knowledge of *Christ*; and that it was unreasonable, while they did not permit them the disposal of their Earthly Goods, to allow them that of the Heavenly; the Danger being so much greater of the Mis-application of one, than of the other. Whence many of them not having been baptiz'd when they were Young, could not be admitted into Catholick Communion by the Orthodox Bishops, without Baptism: And it may be from this, that some reported the *Cataphrygians* to use no Baptism at all; that is, because they did not ordinarily administer it to Children in like manner as the Catholicks did, who were in nothing so severe as these.

Sec. 2. As for their Penitential Discipline after Baptism, which they call'd the *Exomologesis*, it was in all the Parts of it much the same with that of the Catholicks, but more strict. The Penitents humbled themselves in the Dust, acknowledging themselves unworthy of the Earth they trod on; cover'd themselves with Sackcloth and Ashes; wore Sackcloth upon their Loins; watched and fasted till they were entirely spent; mingled Ashes and Tears with their Bread; drank only Water; in every thing utterly neglected their Bodies; waited without in the Porch of the Church, kissing the

Threshold, and earnestly conjuring every one that passed in to pray for them, that God would graciously Pardon them this once, and restore them to the Communion of his Spirit, and the Fellowship of the Faithful. Now though there was nothing in all this but what was unexceptionable, and even worthy of Commendation, as it was animated with purity of Affection; yet both in the manner of the Imposition thereof, and the rigorous Limitations and Exceptions as to the Persons admitted to this publick Penitence, with certain Circumstances also attending it before, in, and after, there was a great difference betwixt the Practice herein of the *Cataphrygians* and of the *Catholicks*. They made voluntary Acts to be Acts of Obligation; they founded this Obligation not upon any constant Authority in the Church, but upon the inconstant one, of pretended Revelation in the particular Members; they limited it to such as had but once Fallen, and that also by surprize; they excepted against as many as had been guilty of the Capital Crimes, as if there were no more any receiving of them again by Repentance: And the Power of Absolution they plac'd not in the Bishops of the Church, of what number soever they might be, but in the *inspired* only, or the *Pneumatical*; that is to say, either in an Apostle, or in a Prophet, as *Tertullian* himself has told us. So that no other, according to them, had Right or Authority to absolve a Penitent Sinner. This, I think, may suffice as to the ordering of their Penitents, who had fallen after Baptism: But if any one desire a more full and particular Account of this *second Penitence*, though the *only one* after Admission into their Society, he will find it in the Writings of *Tertullian*, but especially in the latter part of his Book *De Penitentia*, and in his latter Treatises which he wrote, when he had broke off all Communion with those he calls the *Psychical*. For it is to be observ'd, that what-

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ever he held, either of Faith or Discipline, before he quitted the Communion of the Church, he still maintain'd, when among the *Montanists*, but with a great deal of more severity and stiffness. And indeed the whole Discipline that was among the *Montanists*, but especially that part of it relating to the Order of Penance, was evidently an overstraining of all whatever was practis'd by the Catholics in that Case; as may further appear from what follows.

Sect. 3. For they declar'd themselves utter Enemies of *all* the Pleasures of Sense; and by the rigorous Discipline which they observ'd as to Eating and Drinking, they clearly forbid the *enjoyment* of the Creatures on any account whatsoever, or howsoever moderated this might be by the Rules of Philosophy and Religion; allowing only the *use* of them for Necessity, not for Satisfaction, and in order to keep up the Union of Body and Soul for a Life of perpetual Penance and Mortification. They had several particular Fasts, besides those that were of common Observation (and duly authoriz'd) in which they macerated their Bodies for whole Days, refusing to admit the least Sustenance and Refreshment of any kind. They had others, in which they fasted till the time of Sun-set, after which they broke their Fast with a frugal Repast. This they did upon several of those which they call'd the *Stations*, but not upon all of 'em; for they ordinarily finish'd the *Stations* and Fasts of *Wednesday* and *Friday* at the time of Noon, or about Three a Clock in the Afternoon; after the same manner as the Catholics also did.

Sect. 4. But instead of observing one Lent with them, as the Church had receiv'd by Apostolical Tradition, they kept, according to *St. Hierom*, three Lents in a Year: For beside the First of their Lents, which was before *Easter*, they kept
another

another after *Whitsonide*, and a Third answering as it were to the time of *Advent*. Some yet are of the Opinion, that the Observation of those Three Lents was not introduc'd among the *Cataphrygian* Society during the Life of their Founder *Montanus*, but that it was brought in after his decease, in the Third or Fourth Century, by those that refin'd upon his Rule, striving still to go as much beyond him, as he had already gone beyond the sober part of Christians; otherwise they cannot tell how to imagine, that *Tertullian* should have altogether omitted so considerable an Article of their Discipline; or should not have attempted to make some Advantage of it against the Remissness of others, whether real or pretended. But this is at best but a negative Argument, which therefore concludes not: And while the very chief of his Books which he purposely writ in vindication of that rigid Society and their pretended Inspirations, is utterly lost, we cannot also positively say what he may have done, or what mention may have possibly been made by him there, or elsewhere, of this Institution of the *Three great Fasts*; as standing in contraposition to the Three grand Feasts under the Law, fulfill'd and receiv'd by the Gospel. We know not how long each of those Lents might last, *St. Hierom* being herein silent, with all the Fathers; but 'tis highly probable they did not fall short of that term which was ordinarily kept for a time of Fasting and Abstinence, preparatory to *Easter*, in the *Asiatick* Churches, or in those Parts where these Disciplinarians spread themselves. 'Tis true, we have a very obscure Account hereof, the Fast before *Easter* having been differently kept by several Churches, and by the same also at several times. And thus it might be also among the several divisions of the *Cataphrygian* Sect, or even of the same in process of Time; one Division of them affecting greater Austerities than another, and the

Successors

Successors being either willing to add somewhat new to the Form of their Predecessors Discipline, or else to ease themselves a little of what they found too exceedingly burthensome for them to bear: But their Principles led them generally to pursue the former rather than the latter. It is however asserted by *Sozomen*, That the *Montanists* fasted but two Weeks before *Easter*, and so hereby fell short of the Practice of the Catholics. But in this he seems to have been mistaken, as a learned Critick has observ'd, if this were meant by him of the whole Body of them; his mistake herein probably arising from the two Weeks of their *Xerophagia*, which they kept always in the beginning of their Year, to prepare themselves for the following Feast of the Resurrection.

Sect. 5. Now their *Xerophagia* were Days, or Times of the strictest Abstinence and Penitence, upon which they accounted it not lawful to Eat any thing but what was of a *drying* Nature: Wherefore upon these it was their Custom, not only to abstain from all whatsoever had Life in it, but from Broths also, Milk-meats, and all sorts of Liquid Food, and even from the very Fruits of the Earth which abounded in Juice, or were more pleasant to the Palate. *Tertullian* says they abstained on these Days, *Ab omni Juvulentia*; that is, from all, both Animal and Vegetable Juices prepar'd by the Fire; yea, from all Decoctions of Herbs, and other Products of the Earth; contenting themselves only with dry Bread, or Pulse, and a few raw Herbs or Fruits, even such as were found to be less succulent and nutritive. They generally fasted till the Evening, or at least till after the middle of the Afternoon, if they were weak; they ended not their Fast then but just to support Nature, and that they might begin it again afresh; they allow'd their Bodies only Water to drink; they tir'd out themselves extremely with Watchings in the Night-season; they

they strictly forbore all manner of Conversation that might any way divert them a little, how innocent soever; they went not at all to the Baths, as was the Custom of the Country; and thus during those Days, entirely absenting themselves, they consequently obstructed, more or less, that due Perspiration which was promised by them, and which did contribute not a little to the Health both of Body and Mind. And giving themselves up besides, most part of the Time, either to Meditation, or silent Introversion and Inactivity; as it was very much a Work of their own Supererogation, they mightily expos'd themselves, while they unworthily strove to exceed the Commandments of Christ and his Apostles, to most dangerous Illusions; the fatal Consequences whereof (at first unseen) did afterwards appear. As for the Catholics, it is not unknown that they had also this *Xerophagia* once a Year, which might be in some Places longer or shorter; but the difference of theirs from these of the *Montanists*, was great and manifest: For whereas they had the same but once only in the Year, even just before *Easter*, and allow'd Lent but one Week at most, which they call'd the *Holy Week*; the *Montanist* Reformers could not be content without repeating this Fast again, without extending it to at least double the Time; and without exacting also the Observation of it with far greater strictness, as having little or no consideration herein of what human Nature was able to bear, or not to bear. In a word, they thought they were bound, at such times more especially, to deny themselves in *every* thing, to flee from *all* that was chearful, and to avoid carefully whatever was apt to create a pleasant Sensation, and so thereby to render them *Psychical*, or Animal or Sensual. This was what they propos'd by their keeping of the *Xerophagia*, in which they pretended but to imitate the ancient Prophets of God.

Sect. 6. Many of them about the Time of *Origen*^a, affected to lead a Monastick sort of Life, binding themselves never to marry, or to touch a Woman; not to pollute themselves with any thing that was common; to abstain wholly from the use of Flesh, and not to drink Wine or strong Drink: And hereupon they took a Glory in appearing more Holy than others, and in taking to themselves the Appellation of the *Nazarites of God*, whom it was not lawful, or expedient, that others should approach, lest they should thereby sully and defile their Purity. *Origen* seems to say this indeed of the *Montanists* in general; but 'tis plain, that this could not be truly predicated of them all, some of whom liv'd in a marry'd State, and debarr'd not themselves the use of the Vine, but that it must be limited to a part of them; as particularly to the *Pepuzenian* Society and College, or some such other that might be branch'd from them, according to their Rule, or in general to the Candidates for the Prophetical and Sacerdotal Honours.

Sect. 7. It seems they could not by their Discipline bear any Offices, nor be in any Employment in the Government. They carry'd the Point of Separation from the World exceeding high in all the Branches of it; even so far as to distinguish themselves in their whole Conversation by an affected Singularity, and to deny themselves the most innocent Recreation of their Minds, as well as Bodies. Under the pretext of Christian Gravity they thought it unlawful at any time to unbend their Spirits ever so little; and they did love therefore to appear always with a *Stoical* Air, and in a *Pharisaical* Drefs. Not only the Games, Sports and Plays of the Heathens were forbidden^b by them, for fear of communicating with them thereby in their Religion; but they so instructed their

^a Pamphil. Apol. p. 177. l.

^b Tertull. l. de Spect.

Catechumens, and the younger sort, in the great Law of *Renunciation*, according to the Vow solemnly and publickly made at Baptism, as if they were thence brought under an Obligation of running counter in every thing to all the World beside their own Body; and as if no regard ought to be had to the dependence of the human Soul, in this State, upon Matter, for the more orderly and vigorous exerting its Faculties or Powers.

Sect. 8. Now the Catholicks, though they were generally themselves severe in this Point, yet were against all these ^a *new Impositions* and new Fashions in the Externals of Religion; yea, they proceeded so far as even to reject the Discipline of the *Catapbrygians* with an ^b *Anathema*: Which anathematization of their Discipline was not, they said, upon the ground of its being in it self ^c Evil or Unlawful, since even they themselves did in a manner practise the same: But the meaning herein was this, that they were not willing to have a ^d Commandment and a Necessity, made of what was Free and Voluntary; and this too upon the Authority of a New (or rather of a False) Prophecy: For they who receiv'd it, practis'd these things as Institutions ^e of Obligation. And had they left many of these things free, without imposing them, or had not went upon the Authority of a private Spirit, but upon the publick Authority of the Church, 'tis more than probable they had not been condemn'd for the Use of them.

Sect. 9. This account of their Ecclesiastical Discipline is the sum of what can be pick'd up, out of the few scatter'd remains of Antiquity concerning it, that are left us; which do sufficiently at least

^a Euseb. Hist. Eccles. l. 5. c. 18. p. 184. c.

Jejun. c. 1. p. 701. d.

c. 2. p. 702.

Hieron. Epist. 54. p. 128. d.

Jejun. c. 13. p. 711. c.

^b Tertul. de

^c Ibid. c. 13. p. 711. a. b.

^d Ibid.

^e Tertul. de

discover the true Ground and Foundation of their Excess therein, and shew both the Rise and Progress of Superstition under the most fair and specious Pretexts; with the great Danger that there is for any, out of a false Humility, to yield themselves up Captives to a private Spirit of Revelation, (though not bringing in any thing disagreeable, whether in Faith or Worship to God's Word, or to what has been handed down by Catholick Prescription) *against*, or even *without* the Authority of the true Governors of the Church, sitting in the Chair of Christ and his Apostles. And from hence only can be taken a just View of their *Morality* also, concerning which there are very different and contrary Sentiments.

ARTICLE XII.

Of their Morality.

Sect. 1. **I**T is not an easy matter at this distance, to pass a right judgment on their Morals: If all that is told us by those that wrote professedly against them were true, they must have had for certain a Morality exceeding loose and scandalous, and much a-kin to that which a certain Set of Men, calling themselves by the holy Name of JESUS, are generally condemn'd for; not by Protestants only, but by great numbers of their own Communion: For the Chiefs of this new Order of the *inspired* are all painted out in very black Characters by some or other. *Montanus* himself is by some of the Ancients, represented as no other than a grand Debauchee, under the Cloak of Religion, and a cunning hypocritical Knave, that understood

how to make his Markets with his pretended Revelations^a, and familiar conversations with God; as a base avaritious Fellow, that was for scraping up all he could get, under the Pretence of Charity and voluntary Oblations, in order to make himself good and his Party strong; as one that had brib'd a great many to be of his side by the help of other Persons Money, and gave Wages and Pensions to those that preach'd up his Doctrine; not forgetting to indulge their Humours and flatter their Passions, that he might make them fit for his turn: As one that was for laying heavy burthens upon others, while he knew how to shrink his own Neck out of the Collar, and would not lend so much as a little Finger to bear the Load with them; as a Person that would deny himself nothing in Private, and that in Publick also was for conforming himself to the Mode of the Times, so far as it could be done without quite losing his Point: As one that lov'd to wear the best Cloaths to make a good Equipage, and to appear in every thing like a complete Gentleman, and a perfect Courtier: As one that knew the Art how to paint his Hair, colour his Eye-brows, anoint and perfume his Head, and put on a new sort of Visage on Festival occasions; and that could play also at Tables and Dice for his Diversion; as a Man that traded with the World, notwithstanding all his high Pretences, and made no scruple of Usury and Gain, that the universal Practice of the Church had disallow'd: As one, in a word, that under the Mask of Godliness, was defil'd with all manner of Impurities and Abominations, guilty of Crimes not fit to be once nam'd among Christians, and that had been actually convicted of Adultery, for which he was made to part with the Signs of his Virility^b: And that to crown all, the Devil at last

^a Article I. of *Montanus*.

^b *Abscissus & Semivir.*

tempted him to hang himself, whom he readily comply'd with. *Priscilla* and *Maximilla* are represented in like manner as Women that Elop'd from their Husbands, to follow an infamous Cheat, and one of scandalous secret Practices: As conforming themselves likewise to the Vanities and Modes of the World, in their Apparel, Jewels, Dress of the Hair, and the like: As receiving and giving Presents, to make themselves the more considerable; and of Buying and Selling the Gifts of the Spirit, from that same Root of Bitterness which was in *Simon Magnus*: And lastly, As if under the Notion of greater Spirituality, they were confederated only to Work the Works of the Flesh with a *finer* appearance; and that one, or both of them had laid violent Hands on their own Life, by the instigation of that Spirit which possessed them. *Themison* is set forth as a proud, vain-glorious Fellow, without any real Merit, who would needs pass for a Martyr, or a Confessor, while he bought off his Chains, and got out of Prison by the help of a large Sum of Money. *Alexander*, the *Montanist*, is charg'd with Crimes of a publick Nature, and with having been condemn'd at *Ephesus* by *Frontinus* the Proconsul; not for being a Christian, but for Robberies which he had committed. *Theodotus* their Treasurer, is said to have been no better than any of the former, and that he was at length carry'd in the Air, and kill'd by the Devil. And *Apollonius*, the Relater hereof, would also have us believe, that there were a great many others besides, that were still as bad as any of those, whose Names he spares.

Sect. 2. However, we can say but little to most of these Charges, which depend not only upon the Veracity and Impartiality of this single Witness, but also upon the Truth and Fairness of the Accounts transmitted to him. *Apollonius* appears to have been too good a Christian, to have been guilty of

of any wilful misrepresentation of Fact: But it is not impossible but he may have been somewhat too easie in giving Credit to, and in relating after others, Relations not sufficiently examin'd and attested. He was a wise and a sober Author, who writing in the same Cause, after he had given an Account of such Reports as these, concerning *Montanus*, and others that adher'd to him; makes this modest and judicious Conclusion, *viz. As for us, we are of the Opinion that we can know nothing of these Matters but what we have seen with our own Eyes.* It may be these things were so, or it may be not: But whether all this was merely an hypocritical Form, or whatever else it might possibly be, thus much at least is certain, that the *Principles* of their Morality had nothing loose in them; but on the contrary, were rather too rigid and severe.

Sect. 3. For nothing can be more notorious, from the Writings of *Tertullian*, than that they pretended (at least) to embrace the Perfection of the Christian Morality, and to take the Life of Christ for the Model of all that they were to do: And perhaps it would not be very hard to digest a Body of their Morals out of the Books of this Father, both those he writ before he quitted the Communion of the Church, as well as those he writ afterwards, when he was join'd to this New Society; since he had for certain imbib'd their Principles before he went actually over to them, and also because he knew of no manner of alteration that he had made herein by this change. The Morals of *Tertullian* are then no other than the Morals of the (First) *Montanists*, or than the Morals of the Christians screw'd up to the highest pitch.

Sect. 4. So far therefore as they were true to their Principles, they must have stuck close to the *Letter* of the Gospel in its very severest Precepts, without admitting of any limitations or exceptions from human Commentaries. They must have been
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for pressing not only the Precepts of the Decalogue, and the Law of Nature, but must have carried the Law of Grace, in Jesus Christ, to further lengths than any had ever done before them. And they must have united those two Laws into one Law, and then stamp'd upon it certain *peculiarities* of their own, and Appendages, whereby it might be render'd more august and tremendous. Thus *Montanus*, and his first Disciples, dress'd up the Christian Morality, that it might appear that they were not only not inferior to any, but that they even exceeded all.

Sect. 5. They exhorted their Followers to give large Alms, to visit the Poor, the Sick, and those that were in Prison for the sake of Religion; to give rich Offerings, and even Oblations sometimes of all that they had for the Service of the Church; to encourage by all possible means the Preaching of this new glorious Dispensation of the *Paraclet*; and to live in all things up to the Spirit of the Gospel, walking in the Truth thereof. They taught that it was not lawful for them, on any pretence whatever, to resist Evil; but that they were oblig'd by Christ to return always Good for Evil, and to render all charitable Services to their Enemies, and bitter Persecutors. They held hence, that it was absolutely unlawful to bear Arms, tho' even for the Defence of the Empire, and when commanded so to do by their lawful Superiors. They seem also to have taught, that 'twas not lawful to swear at all under the Gospel, or at least under their Dispensation; in as much as the Word of one that was Spiritual ought, they thought, to be of no less value than the Oath of those that were yet under a Legal State. They were against the making use of customary and common ways of speaking, if they had but any relation to Idolatry or Pagan Superstition, as *Augury*, and the *Planetary* Names of Days. They were profest Enemies, by their Doctrine, to all Superfluities,

fluities, both in Apparel, and in the Furniture of the House, and were consequently for having it all sold, and distributed to pious and charitable Uses. They were absolutely against adorning their Houses with Torches, or making Illuminations, as also against hanging out Garlands, or Laurels, in Honour of their Princes; or to complement the Magistrates, whether Civil or Military, upon their Successes. They were of Opinion, that it was not agreeable to the Rule of the Gospel, for any one professing Christ, to be crown'd with a military Garland, in token of Victory; and maintain'd, that the Weapons of their Warfare were not to be Carnal, but Spiritual only; in opposition both to the Honours and Employments from the Temporal Sword. Hence upon Principles, yea, the very Principles of *Montanus* and his Society, was written, by *Tertullian*, that elegant Discourse of his upon the Soldiers Crown; being a Panegyrick on a private Soldier that had refus'd to have his Temples crown'd with Laurel, and also a *Parenesis* to all those list'd under Christ's Banner, not to go to War after the manner of the World, or to list themselves under any earthly Commander whatever. They recommended much to their Followers, the having a great deal of Respect for their Emperors, and also for the subordinate Magistrates, and the obeying them in all things, not prohibited by the Law of their Profession; but they thought it not lawful to give them such flattering Titles, as an evil Custom had introduc'd; or to make use of such sort of strain'd Addresses or Congratulations, as did any wise seem but to have a tendency to idolize the Creature. The Habits both of their Men and Women, seem to have been exceeding plain, except perhaps upon some great and Festival appearances, for the outward Honour of Religion: And therefore this Author endeavours to shew, that he had reason to quit the Long Robe, or the

Toga,

Toga, for the short Cloak, which was call'd *Pallium*, and was a poor sort of Dress, that was despis'd by the *Roman* Gentlemen for its meanness. They taught, that they were oblig'd to avoid not only all *criminal* Pleasures, as Debauchery with Wine and Women; nor all *dangerous* ones, such as the publick Theatrical Shews and Plays; but even the *unprofitable* ones too, or which had no other end but the Pleasure it self, without any farther Prospect, at the Benefit which might accrue thereby both to Soul and Body. Nothing can be carry'd higher than the Doctrine of Christian Patience, as taught by them; they oblig'd themselves by their Principles to die, and to suffer also therewith all imaginable Tortures, rather than to do any thing whereby it might but seem that they renounc'd, or despis'd the Religion they profess'd: And they held, that it was absolutely forbidden to flee in the time of Persecution, or to give Money not to be torment-ed, or to be releas'd; as it appears from a Tract purposely written on that very Subject, by this severe Father, as also from his *Exhortation to the Martyrs*; which last is a piece truly worthy of Commendation, there being nothing more strong and moving. And if any one desire a more full and clear view of their Sentiments, as to *Manners*, he must read with Attention the several Tracts which this Author has written of Publick Sights, of Womens Habits, of their Ornaments, of the veiling of Virgins, of Monogamy, of Modesty, and his Exhortation to Chastity. As for what relates to their *Mysteries*, we are much more in the dark, and must expect but little help from him.

ARTICLE XIII.

Concerning their Mysteries.

Sect. 1. **T**H E R E are very abominable things related ^a concerning the Mysteries of the *Montanists*, which did render the whole Church odious to the Heathens; for as much as they distinguish'd not these Hereticks from the Catholics, nor the several Ranks and Divisions of them from each other. For it is reported of them, ^b that at one of their Feasts, which according to ^c *Philastrius*, was *Easter*, they took a Male Child of a Year old, and drew out his Blood, by pricking him with Needles throughout the whole Body; and that the Use they made of this Blood so extracted, was to knead with it the Flower of Wheat ^d; whereof they made their Mysteries, their Eucharist, and their Sacrifices. If the Child escap'd after this Emission of his Blood, they consider'd him afterward as a Person eminently consecrated, or as an High-Priest of God; but if he dy'd therewith, they held him for a Martyr.

Sect. 2. ^e This is what they were charg'd with; but they utterly dis-avow'd so horrid a Crime, and rejected it as a pure Calumny. And indeed the ancient Fathers speak not of it but doubtfully, and as upon common Report; except *St. Cyril* ^f of *Jerusalem*, who supposes it as certain: who says also, That they cut this Child in pieces, and hash'd him, that they might feed on him. ^g *Isidore Pelusiota*, without hesitating, declares them guilty of Magick, Idolatry, and murder of Infants. On the other

^a Hierom. Ep. 54. Cyrill. Catech. 16. p. 178. ^b Epiph. 48. c. 14. p. 416. ^c Philast. c. 49. ^d Aug. Hær. c. 26. Epiph. p. 416. ^e Theodor. Hist. Eccles. l. 3. c. 2. ^f Catech. 16. p. 178. ^g Lib. 1. Epiph. 242.

side, 'tis certain ^a *St. Hierom* was not at all inclin'd to believe what was said against them as to this Point, as is evident from one of his Letters. In like manner, the Author of *Prædestinatus* ^a seems to reject utterly the Story, because those who were the first Writers against this Sect, never made the least mention hereof; which they would never certainly have omitted, had there been but any probable Presumption of the Truth. Nay, *Epiphanius* ^c, who is credulous enough in all such Matters, owns, That this could not be true of the *Montanists* in general, but only of some Branch of their Sect. Hence likewise *Baronius* acknowledges ^d, That though this might perhaps be true concerning the *Montanists* that liv'd afterwards, there was not the least Probability, or Appearance, that it could be justly fix'd upon *Montanus* himself, or those of his Age.

Sect. 3. However, 'tis highly probable, that there were some particular Rites used by some, or all, of the Branches of this great Body adhering to *Montanus*, in the Administration of their Sacraments, and particularly of the Holy Eucharist, that were not generally receiv'd by the Catholicks. But these were kept so very secret among those that were admitted within the Veil, and call'd by them to a nearer Communion with their *Paraclet*, as not to be communicated to any of the Uninitiated. And hence so many different Reports were spread by Strangers concerning them. But that the Mystery of *Transubstantiation* derives in the first place from them, together with the Sacrifice of the Mass, how confident soever some may be, is but a Romantick Invention, purely to represent them at once as *Trinitarians* in Doctrine, and *Transubstantialists* in Worship, thereby to misrepresent the Catholick Orthodox Communion.

Sect. 4. They began their first Month upon the

^a Hier. Ep. 54.

^b Præd. Hæres. 26.

^c Epiph. 48.

^c 15. p. 416. c.

^d Annal. ad Ann. 183. §. 33.

very Day of the Vernal Equinox, which was then the 24th of *March*, according to the *Julian Account*: And they made all their Months after the manner of the *Egyptians*, to consist alike of Thirty Days. Upon the Fourteenth Day of their first Month, they began to celebrate their Passover, whereat all their Mysteries were solemniz'd. This they continu'd for Seven Days; that is, to the 20th inclusive: But if the Fourteenth fell in with a Sunday, then was it appointed to last a Day longer. It seems as if they distinguished the Passover, the Resurrection-Day, and the Great-Sunday, or *Lord's Day*; express mention being made of each of these in *Sozomen*: Notwithstanding that Archbishop *Usher* will have the Two latter to be one and the same. But 'tis certain that their *Festum Paschatis*, or Christian Passover, was kept distinct from their Feast of the Resurrection; without which there is no understanding either of *Sozomen* or *Nicephorus*. Thus then the *Montanists* began their Year with a solemn Convocation of Seven Days together, which was also sometimes Eight; and kept always the XIVth of the First Month for the Day of our Lord's Passion, and probably the Sunday following for that of his Resurrection: And when the Sunday fell on the XIVth, being the First Day of their Convocation, then they were wont to keep the Passion on that Day, with beginning their Mysteries; but they transfer'd the Feast and Joy of the Resurrection to the next Sunday following, which was the XXIst of their Month, and answer'd to the XIIIth of *April*, after the vulgar Account at that time. It's plain, that the Name of *Pascha*, is in the Ancients, frequently put to express the Day of the *Passion*: And there is very great probability, that so it must be taken in *Epiphanius*^a, when he speaks of the *Quarodecimans*; since he says, that they fasted that Day, and that they kept it upon the XXVth of

^a Epiph. c. 1. p. 420.

March, because they had found in the Acts of *Pilate*, that it was the Day whereupon Jesus Christ was put to Death. St. *Austin* also taking it in the same Sense^a, acquaints us, That when the XIVth Day, upon which they us'd to begin their *Pascha*, fell upon a Sunday, they fasted even upon that Day. But this is contradicted by another Author^b, who charges them with violating the Rule of the Church, in cleaving to the XIVth of the *Solar* Month, yet nevertheless gives us to understand, that they had three Days besides in particular Veneration, and that they honour'd the *Passion* on the Friday, the *Rest* in the *Sepulchre* on the Saturday, and the Resurrection on the Sunday of this same Week: Whence, according to this Author, they never did keep the Day of the *Passion* upon a Sunday; at least not in the Seventh Century, when he lived: Or else if the Fourteenth was upon a Sunday, then they honour'd it as the true and precise Day of the *Passion*, but kept it not with Fasting, transferring the Celebration hereof to the Friday following.

Sect. 5. At this time then especially, the *Montanists* went up to celebrate certain Mysteries in a Desart place of *Phrygia*, where had formerly stood the Town of *Pepusa*, but was now quite destroy'd. This Place they honour'd exceedingly, fancying, and declaring, That the Heavenly *Jerusalem* was there descended. But 'tis not altogether so certain, whether they understood, or no, by this *Jerusalem*, said to be amongst them, the Form of a City, which is reported to have appear'd in the Air about the Year CXCVIII, and which *Tertullian* took for a Mark of this *Jerusalem* from above, wherein the *Montanists*, and the other Millenaries imagin'd, that they should live for the Term of a Thousand Years in all Happiness. For the new Spirit of Prophecy among these had promised expressly,

^a Aug. Har. 29. p. 8, 2. ^b Chrys.

That before this beautiful and glorious City should descend from Heaven, there should be seen first the Representation and Figure of it. But *Tertulian* says, That this Appearance had been seen, not in *Phrygia*, but in the *Holy-Land*. Howsoever it was, this is certain at least, that *Montanus* himself gave the Name of *Jerusalem* to this *Pepuza*, and to *Tymium*, Two small Towns, or Burroughs of *Phrygia*, by the relation of Cotemporary Authors; though some did believe that this *Pepuza* was not a Town, but only a Country-House, where *Montanus* liv'd with *Priscilla* and *Maximilla*.

Sect. 6. Now hither it was the Pleasure of *Montanus*, that his Disciples should assemble themselves together from all Parts, and especially about the Festival of *Easter*. Hence *St. Basil*, and others of the Ancients, sometimes gave the Name of *Pepuzians* to them. This *Pepuza* was their great Patriarchal Seat, which was chiefly honour'd by them for the first Descent, as they pretended, of the *Paraclet*, and the Revelation of glorious Mysteries, tending to the Renovation of all things by the Mouth of *Maximilla*; who was visited in this Place after a most strange manner, thence giving her self out for a Prophetess of God. Her Spirit of Prophecy or Demonaical Possession, from hence spread it self. And it is pretended, that our Lord Jesus Christ here also personally appear'd to *Priscilla*, or *Quintilla*, and gave to one or the other, if not to both of them, the Gift of the Heavenly Wisdom. Wherefore likewise there were many, both Men and Women, who consecrated themselves in this Place by the means of certain Ceremonies, and continued here a certain Time, waiting according to the Customs appointed, on purpose that they might have in like manner the Vision of Christ. Hereupon many did believe that they really saw the Lord appear to them, and heard the Voice of his Spirit calling and speaking unto them. Here then
they

they began to Prophecy, after that they had passed through their several Ceremonies and Lustrations, imagining to themselves, that they had hereby obtain'd the Spirit of Wisdom and Revelation; and not discerning what Spirit it really was that did thus enter them, and agitate them, under that disguise: For here it was, that, according to *Philastrinus*^a, they celebrated their Magical Mysteries. And hence also *Epiphanius*^b, and divers others, do make a particular Sect of the *Pepusians*, or *Pepuzenians*; which yet was no otherwise different from that of the *Montanists*, but by an excess of Pride and Arrogance above all the rest of them, they now pretending themselves to be of the Number of the inspired and the *Autoptæ* of Divine Mysteries.

Sect. 7. There was indeed here a sort of Magical College or Society, consisting of the *Montanist Mystæ* of several Orders; and they constituted an Hierarchy that had somewhat truly very extraordinary in it, as striving to excel all what was found any where else in the Church of God. The first in their Hierarchy, and most highly honoured, were their *Patriarchs*; and these probably were the first of the Name, as appropriated to a distinct Order and Government, that were ever heard of since Christ's time. The next unto these were those whom they call'd their *Cenons*, of whom little or nothing is known, except that in the Eighth Canon of the Council of *Laodicea*, which speaks of the pretended Clergy of the *Montanists*, they seem to be condemn'd under the Title of *Μεγιστοι*, i. e. *Most Great*; whereas the Patriarch was rather *Τρισμεγιστος*, *Trismegistus*, or most superlatively greatest among them. And the *Bishops*, that among us, saith *St. Hierom*^c, hold the Place and Rank of the Apostles, were regarded by them but as in the Third

^a Philast. c. 49. p. 13.
^c Ep. liv.

^b Præd. Har. xxvii. p. 29.

(and almost last) place: As if their Religion was so much more excellent, and more exalted, than what we profess; as they should place those as it were the Last, whom we place the First: For they establish'd Bishops in *Phrygia* even in the very Villages. And it seems as if the College of *Pe-puza* was erected by them as a standing Council, superior to the Episcopal Order; as in imitation of Christ and his Apostles, or of the Apostolical College when residing at *Jerusalem*, with respect to the ordinarily constituted Bishops: The Patriarch being appointed the Representative of Christ, the *Cenons* of the Apostles, and the Bishops of the First Bishops by Apostolical Delegation, or immediate Mission from the Apostles, accompanied with the *Φανερόσις*, or Manifestation of the Spirit; which was some *sensible Mark* that they were made Partakers of the Divine Spirit, in order to govern the Flock of God committed to their Charge.

Sect. 8. Concerning the Manner and Form of their Baptism, there are no small Disputes among the Learned; for nothing is more certain, that the Ancients were divided about it, some of them allowing, but others entirely rejecting it; while others doubted concerning it, and could not be brought to determine themselves either way fully. *St. Basil* says indeed, That they did baptize their *Neophytes* in the Name of the Father, of the Son, and of *Montanus* (if it were a Male) or of *Priscilla* (if it were a Female.) Nevertheless it appears by what follows, that he only says so, because they meant *Montanus* by the Holy Ghost, and not because they formally baptiz'd any in his Name; or because they believ'd *Priscilla* to be full of the Holy Ghost, and one commissionated with sufficient Authority to receive Profelytes into Communion with the *Paraclet*. *St. Athanasius*, though he lik'd not their Baptism, seems yet to say, That they nam'd the Three Persons in
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like manner as we do, in the Baptismal Form. St. *Epiphanius* and *Philastrius* do both testify, That the *Montanists* had no other Belief but that of the Church, concerning the Holy Trinity. St. *Basil* makes them not to be Hereticks as to that Mystery, but because they did blaspheme against the Holy Ghost, by giving the Title of the *Paraclet* to *Montanus*, and to *Priscilla*. And *Firmilian* attributes not to them any other Heresy. *Theodoret* grant this, by saying, That some of the *Montanists* were fallen into the Error of *Sabellius*, but that *Montanus* himself continued in the Faith of the Church. St. *Dionysius* of *Alexandria*, by the Testimony of St. *Basil*, admitted them to Communion without Re-baptization. And *Baronius* thinks there are convincing Proofs in *Tertullian*, that they were generally Orthodox in the Faith of the Trinity, and Canonical in the Form of baptizing.

Sect. 9. On the contrary, St. *Hierom* accuses them of *Sabellianism*, which yet *Tertullian* has expressly refuted in the Person of *Praxeas*. And it is notorious, that they were order'd to be baptiz'd, when they return'd into the Bosom of the Church, not only by the Decree of the Council of *Iconium*, which did condemn all Baptism whatever that was administered without the Church: and by the First Canon of St. *Basil*, which did condemn the Baptism of all those who erred in the Faith of the Godhead; but also more expressly by the VIIth Canon of the First General Council of *Constantinople*,^a which nevertheless did receive the *Arians* and the *Macedonians* without Baptism: And by the VIIIth of the Council of *Laodicea*, which did also receive without Baptism the *Photinians*, being all of them Hereticks, who did err concerning the Trinity; and this too after a manner more visible and gross than the *Montanists*, whose Error did not properly lie here:

^a Concil. Labb. To. I. p. 1497. a. c.

At least it was not the Error of the whole Body of them as a Society, or of the more principal Part of them to deny the Mystery of a Threefold *real* Distinction in the Deity ; which they with the Catholicks took to be express'd in the *Form of Baptism*, by the Names of *Father, Son, and Holy Ghost*.

Sect. 10. Why therefore their Baptism should be held less Valid than that of the other Hereticks, and Hereticks too, that made the fiercest opposition against the capital Doctrines of the Catholick Faith, which these did not : And why the others were admitted by Penance only, but these not without another Baptism ; has not been yet unfolded, so far as I know, by any. There must in all probability have been some very considerable ground for this distinction, betwixt the Baptism of *Montanus*, and the Baptism of *Arrius* or *Photinus*, which these Councils had regard to. There are several Opinions concerning this. The most reasonable of any, were there but Proofs for it, is what is pretended, that he baptiz'd his Disciples in his own Name, which the others did not. For had this been so, the Matter would have been clear, and they could have no right to be call'd *Christians*, or to partake of any of the least Franchises belonging to them, without the ordinary Initiation passed through : And we should doubtless also have heard of it enough, so as to leave it beyond dispute : Notwithstanding it is certain, that the Church of *Alexandria* did in the Fourth Century, receive the *Montanists* into Communion as Penitents, without Re-baptizing them. And this too they did, even when such a Charge was publickly laid against these, as from *St. Basil* appears ; and when they could not be ignorant of what had been determin'd in their Case by several Councils. Moreover it is plain, that some of the Orthodox doubted in the time of *St. Firmilian*, whether their Baptism was Invalid or no. But had they baptiz'd in the Name
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of *Montanus*, instead of the *Holy Ghost*, as they are accus'd, there could have been no manner of doubt of it.

Sect. 11. Some again have thought, that they baptiz'd not Infants; and so there being many among them Unbaptiz'd, when they were to be admitted into the Church, it was deem'd necessary by those Councils, that there should be no other Admission of them but by Baptism: But then how this could any wise reach the baptiz'd Adults, doth not in the least appear. ^a Wherefore some have presum'd, that they baptiz'd not at all; as owning only the Baptism of the Spirit, or the Inward Baptism. But this must needs have been a Mistake, if any Credit may be given either to *St. Cyprian* or *St. Basil*, or to any of the ancient Apologists for the Church against them, who never charg'd them, as we can see, with any thing of this kind. And however some of the *Montanists*, perhaps as they came afterward to be subdivided into several Sects, might reject the Baptism of Water, as too mean an Ordinance, and inconsistent with their high Notions; this could never be attributed to the *First Montanists*, or to the *General Body* of them at any time. How it might be in the time of *Pope Gregory the Great*, we are indeed very much in the Dark; they were then quite chang'd from what they were at first, and were in a manner Extinct, or at least not distinguish'd as formerly by the Name of their First Patriarch. It is true, he tells us ^b, That the Reason why they were (in special) receiv'd into the Church by Baptism, was, because they had not had it in their Sect, as not having been baptiz'd in the Name of the Holy Trinity. Whether he includes here those in former Ages, as well as those in his own, there need be no inquiry about it. It is rea-

^a Zonar. in Can. p. 78. d.

^b Gregor. Magn. l. 4. Ep. 61. p. 290.

dily granted, that some of the Catholicks did think the Disciples of *Montanus* both Heterodox in the Faith, and Irregular in the very Form of Baptism: And that about the end of the Sixth, or beginning of the Seventh Century, the great Bishop of the West was also of this Opinion; supposing that they agreed with the Enemies of the *Nicene* Faith, and baptiz'd not their *Neophytes* in the Name of the Trinity, according to the Command of Christ, and constant Practice of the Church. But it appears, that this cannot be true of them *All*, though it may be of *some* of them indeed, and not improbably of that Tribe of them before mention'd call'd *Æschinists*; who are said to have been of the Disciples of that *Praxeas*, who was so much their Enemy at *Rome*, and against whom *Tertullian* purposely wrote. And were they even all *Æschinists*, or *Praxeans*, it yet seems strange and unaccountable, that the Baptism of those who had been Synodically convicted and condemn'd, either as Blasphemers against the Son of God with *Arrius*, or against the Holy Ghost with *Macedonius*, shou'd be allow'd as valid: And that the Baptism of these should not be in like manner allow'd and confirm'd by Imposition of Hands, were there nothing else in the Case but that Charge of Heresy, wherein they are join'd with *Sabellius*; and this likewise no more than a bare Charge as yet, without any juridical Proof, they having not been hitherto so convicted or condemn'd for their Heretical Sentiment in this Point, as the others had been.

Sect. 13. What therefore should be this that could prevail with so great and venerable a Body, as the Second General Council, when they had but just confirm'd the Faith of the *Nicene* Fathers, concerning the Consubstantiality of the Father and the Son against the *Arrians*, and had also in like manner so solemnly declar'd the Catholick Faith concerning the Holy Ghost, against the *Macedonians*, by that Creed

Creed which we at this Day use, to admit both *Arrians* and *Macedonians* into Communion, without Re-baptizing, and at the very same time to reject the *Montanists*, as being *Sabellians*, from the like Benefit; when yet the *Sabellians* both could, and did subscribe to the Symbols of the *Nicene* and *Constantinopolitan* Councils; nay, appeal to them, even so far as the *Arians* pretended that they were by their Decrees the Patrons of *Sabellianism*. What also should be this, that could so prevail with the Council of *Laodicea*, consisting mostly of *Phrygian* Bishops, held in a Place where they were every where surrounded with *Montanists*, and where consequently they could not but be rightly inform'd of their Principles and Customs, if they pleas'd; to invalidate their Baptism, and at the same time to allow that of the *Photinians* for good, who were seemingly greater Hereticks: I say, what should be this, that could prevail with Two such Assemblies, fill'd with Judges that were every way undoubtedly qualify'd, to proceed after this manner; is at first a most amazing Consideration, and may well deserve to be further look'd into. 'Tis then probable, that in their Administration of Baptism, there might be certain *Magical Rites* and *Ceremonies* by them generally us'd, upon which the Catholics might judge it Null and Void; and so might prefer the Baptism of such as were greater Hereticks in the Faith, but us'd none of these, before theirs. However, it is pretty certain they had not these from the Beginning; but that in Process of Time, when both their Revelations and Traditions multiply'd upon them, and when also a Party of them intermingled with one of the Schools of the *Valentinians*, their Mysteries of Initiating Members did very much increase; it cannot be so much as a Doubt; yet it cannot be thought that all of them were tainted after the same manner: Yea, 'tis certain to the contrary, that

they were not ; some of them, and those not the least considerable, being by Principle no Friends at all to any Innovations of that kind, but rather stiff Opposers of the Mysterious and Ceremonial Magick, which some Hereticks were then for introducing into Christianity. It doth not therefore yet appear, why the said Councils thought fit to exclude all the *Montanists*, without exception, from a Favour which they deny'd not to other Hereticks.

Sect. 14. Neither is it enough to say, that the Women among them who were call'd Prophetesses, did equally administer Baptism with the Men, and with those that were set apart to the Ministry, in like manner as it was with the *Marcosians*; who also with their Magick, had terribly corrupted the sacred Mysteries and solemn Rites of Christianity: And that all Baptism administred by such, ought not to pass for *true* Baptism. For even granting this, those that were otherwise baptiz'd, ought not for certain, to be hence debar'd of the Privilege of being receiv'd to Communion after the same manner as other Hereticks and Schismatics commonly were.

Sect. 15. Wherefore it remains, that the only true and adequate ground of this Difference which was made betwixt the one and the other, both by the *Laodicean* and *Constantinopolitan* Fathers, must have been that receiv'd Maxim amongst them, That the *Montanists* were not only under the Power of Evil Spirits, after the same manner as the others, by being out of the Communion of the Church: But that they were also actually fill'd and possess'd with them, after the manner of the Heathen Priests and Prophets, or of the *Demoniacs*, whom we read of in the Gospel. This then was properly their Case: The *Arrians*, *Macedonians* and *Photinians*, though Hereticks, did never once pretend to act and speak by a Spirit or Power above themselves, and were well enough contented with what had been
already

already reveal'd and deliver'd, both as to Faith and Practice: But on the contrary, all knew the Pretensions of the *Montanists*, and that the Foundation of all the Extravagancies they afterwards ran into, was this pretext of a Divine Spirit and Power, extraordinarily (and even visibly) acting them; because they could not rest satisfy'd with what *was once deliver'd to the Saints*. It was hence natural for them to look upon themselves as somewhat above the common Race of Men; and that by means of their Baptismal *Ἀπολύτρωσις*, or *Redemption*, they were purg'd from the Dregs of Matter, and redeem'd into the *Pneumatical* Society. They fancy'd now, that all besides themselves consisted only of *Soul and Body*, whom therefore they call'd *Psychical*, or *Soulish*; but that they, and they only, had another Life and Nature super-added to them, as really distinct as the Soul from the Body; and that consequently they did consist of *Three* Principles, whereas the Best of others had but *Two* only, constituting their Frame. On the other side the Catholics, who claim'd by Prescription the Right of the *Baptismal Spirit*, as delegated by Christ and his Apostles, to themselves as their due; and believing it not to be communicable to any that were out of the Catholick and Orthodox Communion, even though the External and Ordinary Rite for conferring it might be rightly us'd for that end; could not, but according to their Principles, condemn and anathematize that new Baptismal Spirit which was pretended to among the *Montanists*, however otherwise it might be confer'd, according to the *Ordinary Form* in that Case requir'd by the Church, as a false and counterfeit Spirit: The consequence of which must be, That the Baptism of the *Montanists*, notwithstanding even their Agreement in the Form, was with respect to that of the Catholics, not only *another*, but also a *contrary* Baptism; and that the Spirit of the *Montanists* con-

vey'd by this their Baptism, was not the Spirit of the Christians, but another Spirit; and that so contrary to it, as all Communion with each other was wholly Interdicted; nor Interdicted only, but impossible. So that, according to Catholick Principles, none that had been a *Montanist*, and had receiv'd that Spirit by means of their Baptism, or otherwise, could be admitted into Communion with the Catholick Spirit of Christ in his Church, without the former Spirit were first Exorcis'd, and cast out; which was to be done only by the True Baptism, in this Case. The Pastors and Governors of the Church having therefore receiv'd from their Lord, Commission and Power, both to drive out the *Evil Spirit* by baptizing according to his Will, and to convey by the same, and by Laying on of Hands, a *good Spirit*; found an absolute necessity to renounce their Baptism and Spirit, that they might establish their own, according to what they had receiv'd from the Apostles. This, not *Sabellianism*, was the ground of Re-baptizing the *Montanists*, more than many others.

Sect. 16. Besides their Baptism, the *Montanists* had some other initiatory Rites or *Purgative Mysteries*, to prepare them for the Reception of that Spirit which was amongst them. They fasted, they prayed, they crossed themselves, they kept the Stations with all fervency, they watch'd, they abstained from certain Foods, they avoided all the Filthiness of the Flesh, they clothed themselves with clean Linen, they ate Milk and Honey, they bathed themselves Seven times; that is, once every Day after their being baptized for a Week; and they were anointed, which was done with a certain Oil that was consecrated by Invocation of the Spirit. In several of these they agreed with the Catholicks; but in others with the *Essenes* and *Encratites*. Now some of the ancient Hereticks had, among their Mysteries, this Custom; to pour upon the Head of the Person baptized

tized a certain precious Liquor, or Essence, in which both Water and Oil were incorporated together, as a Mystical Representation of the Two Baptisms, of Water and Spirit in One; and of the Union of Two Natures, the one from Above, the other from Below, in the *Pneumatical* State then professed to be enter'd into: After which, pronouncing over him certain Hebrew, or barbarous Words, they anointed him with a rich Ointment, in which there was the true *Opobalsamum*. It cannot positively be said, that this was one of the Mystical initiations of the *Montanists*, but 'tis very probable they had either this, or somewhat very like it. Indeed they kept both their *lesser* and *greater* Mysteries as secret as it was possible; and therefore 'tis no wonder we have so little Account of them. But it cannot be doubted but there were Bathings and Anointings among them; which by those that were unacquainted with their Mysteries, might be mistaken as Marks of Effeminacy. It is certain, that some of the first *Montanists* were accus'd upon this very Head; and even *Montanus* himself was much taken notice of, for appearing abroad when he was anointed and perfum'd; and could not, notwithstanding all his Severity, escape for it the Charge of Softness and Complaisance for the *Eastern* Manners. But his appearing in the Quality of an *High-Priest*, not of a mere Prophet, might be his Pretence for excusing himself from the Austerities of a Prophet. And he had no other way to evade the Sarcasms of the Faithful, which were otherwise very just upon him, on this account. Besides, both he and his Disciples knew how to excuse themselves for *anointing* their *Faces* or *Foreheads*; had there been no Mystery in it at all, but only a Civil Custom, to express Joy and Chearfulness. However, to these anointings, whether Symbolical or not, we can say but little; but as to that most solemn Anointing which immediately succeeded

their Baptism, we find that it was in the Time of *Tertullian* perform'd just at their coming up out of the Water, and with Imposition of Hands. And however the *Montanist* Women came afterwards to intermeddle, pretending Revelation for so doing, in the Administration of this Sacrament^a, there is not the least ground to think, that in his Time it was ever so; but that both the Baptism and the Uction were celebrated by Bishops only.

Sect. 17. What their Custom was of baptizing the Dead, which is mention'd by *Philastrinus*, can no where be learnt; for he explains it not, but only just hints at it: Possibly it might be the same with that of the *Corinthian* Church, alluded to in that famous Passage, 1 *Cor.* xv. 29. But whether it was or no, it seems to have been somewhat very remarkable, and to have distinguish'd them from those of the Orthodox Communion. Some of the *Valentinians* had a sort of Baptism of the Dead; both Bathing and Anointing them, in order to secure the Souls in their Ascent from the Powers of the Air, as was pretended; that is, from the Evil Angels supposed to have Dominion therein. But it is not credible that the *Montanists* should borrow this Custom from them, for whom they seem to have had a particular Aversion: Or else it was not a *General* Custom among them, but only of one *Particular* Branch of them, who might keep, perhaps, Correspondence with the *Valentinians*, and learn some of their Mysteries; and this so much the more, as they also in like manner pretended to be *spiritual*, and were willing to pass with them under the same common Name. This however we may be sure of, that there were certain annual Oblations for the Dead, in use amongst the *Montanists*, about the

beginning of the Third Century: But then it appears, that this was in Honour of the Martyrs, and that it was also as much a Custom of the Catholicks as of them. For *Tertullian*, in a Book which was written after he turn'd *Montanist*, has this very Expression^a, viz. *We offer Oblations every Year for the Dead, in honour of the Martyrs.* And for it he pleads Catholick Tradition, and the constant Practice of the Church; as well as for some other receiv'd Customs which were not to be prov'd, he said, out of the Scriptures.

Sect. 18. In their Eucharistical Feasts and Oblations there was somewhat very odd and particular, which they accounted Mysterious: And hence the *Pepuzenian Montanists* had the Nick-name of *Ἀγλο-τροφῆται*, because that in their Mysteries these offer'd up not only Bread, but (as they say) *Cheese* too; as if one should call them *Bread and Cheese-Christians*. Yet this might be perhaps at their *Agapæ* or *Love-Feasts*, which follow'd the Celebration of the *Eucharist*, and so might possibly be confounded with it: But of this we may be oblig'd to speak again. And however it might be afterwards, and among some of them, in the Time of *Tertullian* for certain, they were not wanting to pay a great Veneration to the consecrated Elements: For, says he^b, *we take great care that no part be lost, either of the consecrated Bread or Wine.* There was indeed a certain Sect of Enthusiasts, in the Reign of *Constantius*, as it were between the *Gnosticks* and *Montanists*; who under the Notion of being *Pneumatical*, condemn'd all bodily Signs, and by their pretended Authority of the Spirit, abrogated the Sacraments instituted by Christ; saying, 'That it was no way suitable for that which is Spiritual

^a De Coron. Milit.

^b Ibid.

^c Quod indignum esse dicerent rem Spiritualem ullius terreni Elementi similitudine repræsentari. *Pappi Hist. Eccles.* p. 227.

and Heavenly, to be represented by the Likeness of any earthly Element. These also, that they might distinguish themselves from the rest of the pretended Spiritualists, thought the Title of *Primitive* would be most advantageous to them: And so they were call'd *Archonticks*; and not from the *Principalities* assign'd by them to the Angels, wherein they agreed with most, or all of the *Valentinian* Sects. Wherefore these are not to be reckon'd among the *Montanists*, but rather among the *Valentinians*.

Sect. 19. And much less are a Branch of those call'd *Ascodrups*, or ^a *Ascodryps*; who were in like manner Fighters against the Sacraments, but with more violence. For these wild Zealots believing themselves under an Impulse of the Spirit, would in their raving Fits enter the Churches, and break to pieces all the Vessels that were appointed for the Use of the Holy Sacrament of Christ's Body and Blood, as also of Baptism: And thence were they called by that Name. But the *Montanist* Spirit generally ran in quite another Strain; and was rather for paying an excessive Honour to the Sacraments, than otherwise; and by adding new Rites and Mysteries for the greater Pomp of the matter they did by consequence offend the Enthusiasts of the opposite side, who were for nothing but mere Spirituality, and so stir them up to their Extravagancies. Hence some of the *Montanist* Zealots, for their opposition to these, got to be call'd by the Name of *Ascitas* ^b; who made it part of their Religion, to carry always about with them some of the consecrated Wine; and reproach'd others that did not the same, as if they were no true Christians. And this they did in such a Bottle [*Ἀσκήτης*] as was commonly us'd in their Churches for the Sacramental Wine; which the others esteem'd highly Meritorious to tear in pieces, it being made

^a Ἀσχοδρύπαι

^b Ἀσκήται

of Leather. This was design'd for a visible Badge of their being of the Number of the *Inspired*, or of those that were adopted into the *Pneumatical* Society, to be Priests and Prophets of God: Nor was it indeed an unfit Representation of that Spirit, which entring into their Bodies in their Prophetick Fits, did swell them and blow them up after such a strange manner; for one of the main Symptoms of their Spirit visiting them, was look'd upon to be this Swelling and Heaving of their Breasts, not without a general Inflammation of the whole Body, as it was ever among the False Prophets and Prophetesses.

Sect. 20. In the manner of their publick Prophecies, besides the Agitations that were supposed to be involuntary, there were voluntary Observations and Transactions of the Prophets (or Prophetesses) both before and under Inspiration; as for instance, Their wearing certain Vestments, that were Symbolical; their bearing in their Hands consecrated Lights; their making Signs with their Fingers, to command an universal Silence and Introversion; their Crossing themselves; and the like. "There was frequently seen, saith St. *Ephipanius*, "seven Women enter together into their Church, "all clad in white down to their Feet, having each "a Torch, or Taper, burning in her Hand, that "they may there play the Prophetesses. In this Prophetick Habit they did seem as possess'd, and acted by some supernatural Agent: They groan'd; they wept; they heav'd as even ready to burst; they lamented the Blindness and Misery of Men; they predicted great and terrible Things near at hand; they exhorted to Repentance; they press'd their Auditory to make haste to flee from the Wrath to come; to separate themselves from an adulterous Generation, Christians that were *sensual*, not having the Spirit; and to make themselves secure of that *Jerusalem*, which they said, was just ready to descend

descend from God out of Heaven. These things they spoke, falling into what the *Physicians* call a *Catoche*^a, which is a Waking Dream, wherein the whole Body is agitated with involuntary and convulsive Motions, and the Eyes remain open, and the Pupil extended, contrary to what it is in a *Coma*. Being cast into this *Catoche* by the Spirit, to which their excessive Fastings and Watchings did also doubtless contribute not a little, by drying and distending their Nerves, they were made to see fine Sights, and to hear strange Voices; which they did repeat as with sudden Starts^b, and with a strange sort of a Tone, widely different from their own Natural Voice, as if some one were then speaking in them. It was at the College of *Pepusa* that these Seven *Montanist* Prophetesses were observ'd after this manner, to fall into their Enthusiasms. And it seems to have been the ordinary Habit of their Prophetesses, as often as they appear'd in their Assemblies, to be clothed thus with fine Linen, clean and white, down to the Ground, and to carry either lighted Lamps, or Torches, in their Hands, as Royal Paranympths, that were ready to enter into that Bride-Chamber, which they imagin'd to be then coming down from God, to settle upon that very Spot of the Earth where they were.

Sect. 21. Now among their *Apotelesmata*, or greater Mysteries, there can be no doubt but that of the *Heavenly Marriage*, or the Consummation of the Souls Union with the Divine Spirit, was a most principal one. This was clearly a Catholick Mystery at first: Both *St. Paul* and *St. John* knew it perfectly well. But when it came to be interpo-

^a Ἐν κατ'οχῇ τινὶ καὶ παρεκστάσει ῥυόμηνον ἐνθουσιᾶν. Euseb. H. E. lib. 5. c. 16. Fernel. Pathol. l. 5. c. 2. Sennert. Inst. Med. l. 2. p. 3. §. 1. c. 9.

^b Ἐννοφωρεῖν. Euseb. ibid.

lated by *Montanus* and his Disciples, and the true Notion of it mis-applied, it was presently made a *Mystery of Iniquity*, which had been before a *Mystery of Godliness*. For the Ape of God, counterfeiting his Spirit, by that means got admittance into those Souls, whom he had elevated above themselves, and made them *his* Brides, who ought to have been *Christ's*.

Sect. 22. And after this manner it was with the *Cataphrygian* Women, as particularly with *Quintilla*; not to mention others, to whom that Spirit appearing in the Form of Christ did take her for his Bride, and brought before her Imagination the Prospect of a glorious City; which he made her believe to be no other than the very Heavenly *Jerusalem*, that he would endow her with. For the great Mysteries were seldom, if ever, without some Apparitions, or sensible Manifestations: And the Deity that was worshipped, did on such solemn Occasions, usually give an Evidence to his Devote of his Presence. And hence the counterfeit Christ, getting himself to be ador'd by these deluded Creatures as the true Christ, did appear to them, and caress them with all the most tender endearments. In the Colleges both of *Pepuzza* and *Tymium*, where these things were transacted, Instructions were doubtless secretly communicated, either by the *Patriarch* and *Cenons*, or by some of the Elders of their Prophetical Society, for the direction of this whole Matter.

Sect. 23. The solemnization of this was not without certain mysterious Rites and Symbols, as the Outward and Visible Signs of that Inward and Spiritual Communion which they profess'd to have with this Spirit, and of the secret Favours and Graces said thereby to be conferr'd upon them. Some of these Rites and Symbols have already been mention'd from St. *Epiphanius*. They were alluded to in the Scriptures; they were actually in use in his Time,

Time, and very probably for a good while after. The splendid white Robes, the Illuminations, the manner of Procession in the Persons consecrated, did not only make the Solemnity of it look grave, and appear somewhat considerable; but did also tend greatly to heighten their working Imagination, and to dispose them for the Illapses of that Spirit, or *Dæmon*, in whom they believ'd, and who courted them to fall into his Embraces. Besides which, there must have been a Sacrifice, either Bloody or Unbloody, and a Feast likewise upon that Sacrifice; wherein the said Spirit, as a Bridegroom, was to entertain his Bride, by presenting to them the Things that were offered to him [Εἰσὼ λ' ὁ θύλα, *Acts* xv. 29. *Rev.* ii. 14, 20.] to feed upon. And this we may conclude to have been an adulterating of the true *Christian Sacrifice* and *Sacrament*, and a sacrilegious Abuse by consequence of our blessed Lord's Holy Institutions; if that were any other Spirit but his: Whereof there cannot be any manner of doubt, so long as we hold to Catholick Principles, and *keep the Commandments of Jesus*. Moreover, there is ground to think, that in the Celebration of this Mystick Marriage of the Soul with the False Bridegroom, there were many other things both said and done, by applying and adapting the Scriptures to it, that had an Air of somewhat that was venerable, as well as charming: The which were not yet thought fit, for good Reasons, to be communicated by the Keepers of the Mysteries at *Pepusa*, to any, but such as were of their *Elect*, and counted worthy to be admitted into their Number: Of which none could be, except such of them as had arriv'd to a Familiarity with that Spirit, as with their Husband and nearest Companion.

Sect. 24. But besides this, they seem to have had also another Mystery among them, and which is even yet higher than it, and the very Ground and

Original of it: Which is, that Man was created, Male and Female, after the Image of God, and that so there must be something in the Deity it self that was the Archetypal Ground of the Female, as well as the Male, Property in Nature. And hence they are said to have had a Distinction amongst them, betwixt the *Paraclet* and the *Holy Ghost*, much after the fond Traditions of the *Jewish Cabala*, as if there were different Emanations of the Divine Power; some of which were properly call'd *Male*, but others were as properly *Female*: And as if the *Holy Ghost* were in comparison of the *Paraclet*, but as a Female and subordinate Power. Nor would it be perhaps, an Injury to them to say also, they might have a Notion, as if the one could be best represented by an outward Female, but the other could not represent himself but in a Male: Since there are not wanting Grounds for such a Supposition as this; and the Union of *Montanus* and *Maximilla* appears to have somewhat in it that was *Special*, and not fairly accountable for upon their Principles, without making it refer to some Mystery in the Heavens. Which is one Reason, besides what has been already mention'd, that *Maximilla* was so expressly by Name, condemn'd with *Montanus*, and no other Woman but her self. Now in the Gospel, according to the *Hebrews*, which the *Montanists* could not but receive, since the very Catholics themselves did not reject the said Authority of it, but frequently appeal'd to it as an ^a *Ecclesiastical History* at least; there was found this Passage, viz. *Then my Mother, the Holy Ghost took me up, and transported me to the great Mountain, even Tabor.* These very words are twice cited by ^b *Origen* out

^a Inter quæ notandum quod dicitur *Evangelium juxta Hebræos*, non inter Apocryphas sed inter Ecclesiasticas numerandum Historias. *Bed. Commen. in Luc. init.*

^b Hom. xv. in Jerem. To. 1. p. 148. Ed. Huet. To. 2. in Joh. p. 58.

of that Gospel, and as often by St. *Hierom*^a, who also translated the said Gospel out of the *Hebrew*, both into ^b Greek and Latin. And accordingly in his Commentaries upon *Isaiah*, this Father has these words, “ *Hebræi asserunt, &c.* The *Hebrews* assert, “ and there can be no doubt of the Matter, that the “ Holy Ghost is in their Language denominated “ in the *Feminine Gender*. And whereas in the “ *lxviiith Psalm* it is said, *Dominus dabit verbum* “ *Evangelizantibus virtute multa*, The Lord shall “ give the Word to them that shall publish the Go- “ spel with much Power [which we render, *the Lord* “ *gave the Word; great was the Company of the* “ *Publishers*] they so understand it as if it were “ meant of those Souls that have received the Holy “ Ghost. And again also in that place where it is “ said, *Sicut oculi ancillæ in manibus Domine suæ.* “ *i. e.* As the Eyes of a Maiden in the Hands of her “ Mistress, or Lady; they interpret the *Maiden* “ to be the *Soul*, and the *Lady* to be the *Holy Ghost*. “ So also in the Gospel according to the *Hebrews*, “ which the *Nazarenes* do ordinarily read, *Our* “ *Lord thus speaketh. Modo tulit me Mater mea* “ *Spiritus Sanctus*, Then did the Holy Ghost, my “ Mother, carry me. Nor ought any one to be “ scandaliz’d at this, That in the *Hebrew* the *Spi-* “ *rit* is of a *Feminine* termination, which in our “ Language is of a *Masculine*, and in the *Greek* of “ a *Neuter Gender*; seeing that in the *Godhead* “ there is no Sex. Thus far St. *Hierom*. And *Methodius*^c has interpreted *Adam’s Rib*, out of which *Eve* was formed, to be the *Holy Ghost*. So also some of the *Ancients* understood the *Woman* in the *Parable*, that had the ten Pieces of Silver,

^a *Lib. 11. Comm. in Esa. xl. 11.* ^b *Et Lib. 2. Comm. in Mich. vii. 6. Catal. Script. Eccles. voc. Jacob.*

^c *Conviv. Dec. Virgin. p. 82. Edit. Comb.*

to be in like manner the *Holy Ghost*. And the Voice from Heaven, at the Baptism of Christ, they suppose to be the Voice of the Spirit descending upon him, as of his Heavenly Mother.

Sect. 25. The Women hereupon of *Montanus*, but especially *Maximilla*, ran eagerly, we may well think into this Mystery; and there is little doubt but they thought themselves better qualify'd for the Reception of the *Spirit* than the Men, as claiming a nearer Kindred. On the other side the Men, and especially *Montanus*, pretended that they were visited of the *Paraclet*, and acted by him in as extraordinary a manner; for the manifestation forth of the Wonders of God, through the supreme *Male* Power in the Deity, working by their Organs: Which consequently was to unite with the *Female* in their Women, in order to the Perfection of both. This was apparently the Mystery of *Montanus* and *Maximilla*, as it was of several other of the ancient Hereticks; whereby it was insinuated, that one of these was more eminently to represent, in outward Nature, the *Power of the Highest*, and the other the *Holy Ghost*^a. And that from the Union of those Two should proceed an Holy Generation, that should be called the *Children of God*; who were, according to their Visions, to constitute the *new Jerusalem* upon Earth, and to Reign thereupon for a Thousand Years, as a Kingdom of Prophets, and a Royal Priesthood.

Sect. 26. This Mystery of pretended spiritual Unions, began to work in the Spirit of Antichrist from the very first Rise of Christianity it self, and was carried on through various Sects, till it came to settle in *Montanism*. For as *Simon*, the first Antichrist, had his *Helena*, *Apelles* his *Philumena*, and *Carpocrates* his *Marcellina*; so the same deceiving Spirit, which had before put on several Forms,

^a Luke i. 35.

found it no difficulty to prevail with *Montanus* to take his *Maximilla*, as a spiritual Companion for him, thereby to represent the high Myfterious Union of the Heavenly *Male* and *Female* Powers, of the ^a *Word* and the ^b *Life*, of the *Paraclet* and the *Spirit*, of *Christ* and the *Church*. However, his Disciples are not fo exprefly charg'd by the Ancients, with the Introduction of a Female Perfon into the Blessed Trinity, as fome of the other Primitive Hereticks were: For the *Simonians* are faid to have deify'd the *Helena* of their Master, and given that Honour to her, of being the *Third* in the Divine Myftery. And in the *Ptolemaick* School of the *Valentinians*, the *Jerufalem* Above, or the Archetypal Church, is faid to have been fubftituted as the Female Glory in their Triad. Whence it might very well be, that many of the *Montanifts* might honour *Maximilla* as a Representative of the Holy Ghoft, with whom they conceiv'd her to be replenish'd; and might give her the Name of their fpiritual *Mother*, as *Montanus* of their fpiritual *Father*; and of the Mother of the Church, or the Mother of the Faithful, as another *Sarah*. And this probably might be one Occafion farther, of her having had fuch a particular Notice taken of her, above the reft of the False Prophetesses; and no fmall Motive to the Bifhops of the *East* to proceed againft her in the manner as they did. Nor can a more Rational Account be given, why the Two next Councils that are mention'd in History, after that of the Apostles at *Jerufalem*, fhould be fo zealous and unanimous in cafting her out of the Church, than this, That by the pretended Coming of the Holy Spirit upon her, ſhe made her ſelf to be as the Mother thereof, and one eminently appointed of God, by the Revelations continually given her, to renew the Face of the ſame; whence not only

^a Λόγος.^b Ζωή.

the People, but the very Pastors themselves were to hang as upon her Breasts, for the Milk of the Heavenly Wisdom, and to receive the Law from her Mouth, even as ^a *the Law of their Mother*, that they were not to *forsake*. And thus might she truly be said to sit in the Temple of God as a great Queen; requiring that Spirit which made use of her bodily Organs, to be worshipp'd as God: And teaching and seducing the Servants of God to commit thereby Idolatry, and communicate with *Dæmons* in the Oblations, which either they themselves should make, or which they should partake of being made by others, to this Spirit in her. It is pity we have so short Account of her Life, after her setting up in this manner for an Arch-prophe-*tes*, by uniting with *Montanus*. Had the Books of *Rhodon* and *Apollonius* but been preserv'd, tho' all could not be depended on perhaps that was related in them, we should yet, in all probability, have been thence able to furnish out abundance of curious Remarks, in confirmation of what has been here advanc'd; as well relating to the other Mysteries of the *Montanists*, as to this Last in particular; concerning the Mystical Union of Persons and Spirits, according to certain Patterns suppos'd to be in the Heavens.

Sect. 27. Of which *Patterns*, as they were conceiv'd to authorize what was done either by these Two, as the first *Male* and *Female* for this ordain'd, or by their Followers, who consider'd them as their Parents after the Spirit; and was mistaken as done by them, *correspondently* upon Earth to the eternal Forms Above. I am not ignorant that much might be said (if not to justify, yet) to excuse their making to themselves such an *Image* as they did of the Heavenly Mystery; which was a Block of Stumbling to many, and the Bait (possibly unper-

^a Prov. i. 8.

ceiv'd) to spiritual Fornications. But from all that might have then been said, both from the Mystical way of Writing that was receiv'd among the earliest Christians, and from certain very common Notions borrow'd from the *Alexandrian Jews*; their Delusion was but made *strong*, as the Spirit of *Enthusiasm* is always most ingenious to turn every thing in favour of it self. We do not hear that *Montanus* himself was any thing of a Scholar; but as he had for his Followers some who were Learned, it was easy enough for them to spruce up his Notions, and of every little Matter to make a Mystery, and then to recommend it by Authorities of great Name. The introducing now of a Female Property of Personality into the Divine Nature; the Subordination of this to the Male, as supreme; the Union of them both, and their Inseparability; the Heavenly *Adam*, or Man; the Archetypal Woman; the Woman in the Sun, or the Church; the Figurative Representations of these in External Nature; and, lastly, The particular Application of such Representations to certain individuals, as to *Montanus* and *Maximilla*; in order to the *Palingenesis*, or Regenerated State of human kind in the New Creation; could very well be put into the number of these Mysteries, which an *Alcibiades*, or a *Proclus*, or a *Themison*, or a *Theodotus* might know how to set off with all possible Advantage: As they accordingly did. But some were more, others less addicted to Mysteries. And besides, as they began to divide into several Families, Schools, or Sects, there are grounds to believe they had their several Mysteries also, by which they were distinguish'd from the rest. The *Alcibiadists*, who were of the first *Montanists*, could not have perfectly the same as the *Theodotians*; neither had these the same with the moderate *Proclians*. Wherefore we proceed to speak of these.

ARTICLE XIV.

Of their Sects or Families.

Sect. 1. **I**T is more than probable, that the Mysteries of the *Montanists*, whereof mention has been now made, did very much differ, according to the several Tribes and Sects that did in process of Time, arise among them: And that upon some of the latter *Montanists* intermingling with certain *Simonian* Enthusiasts, as perhaps the *Marcosians*, that might come to be applied to one of them, which did really (or chiefly) belong to the other. Thus the Magical Rite that has been mention'd out of *Philastrinus*, of kneading a Loaf, or Cake with Human Blood, for the use of their abominable *Sacrament*, once in a Year; seems to have been rather one of the *Marcosian* Mysteries by all the Circumstances of it, than any other. But one Branch of *Montanism* being extremely like to them in other respects, this might very easily come to be charg'd first upon that particular Branch, and then without distinction upon the whole Body of the *Montanists*. And the same thing may be said also as to *Baptism*, into which there were several Magical Ceremonies first introduced by the *Marcosians*; who presum'd to change both the very Form of it, and also the Matter, adding Oil to the Water. Now it is not unlikely that some of their Ceremonies and Conjurations of the Elements, might be taken up from them by such of the later *Montanists* as were the most Enthusiastical, and so best corresponded with the *Valentinians*. And from hence the great Disputes in the Church, about the Validity of the *Montanists* Baptism might very well arise. Were not our Accounts of those Times so very imperfect as they are, it would be

no such difficult matter to trace up things to their Original ; but we must now be content with Hints only, as in the Case before us. However, from the small hints of Antiquity, it may not be unpleasant or unuseful to draw together, as in one view, a Prospect of these several Families deriving from *Montanus* ; having mention'd most of them separately already. But first of all, it will be fit to premise some short Account of the *Marcosians*, who were Elder than the *Montanists*, and appear to have communicated to such of them as were Susceptible, certain of their Mysteries.

Sect. 2. The *Marcosians* were a Sect of the *Valentinians*, the Disciples of *Marcus*, who pretended highly to immediate Divine Revelations, and to Working of Miracles. They had their Prophets, who boasted of their Conversation with God and Angels ; and their Prophetesses too, much of a Stamp with *Priscilla* and *Maximilla*. They baptized in the Name of the unknown Father of all Things, of the Truth the Mother of all Things, and of him that descended upon the Head of Jesus for an Anointing and Redemption, and Communion of the Heavenly Powers. They had fundry Mystical and Magical Rites in the Administration of the *Eucharist*, and even pretended to a miraculous Change of the Elements. For at the pronouncing of certain Words they were persuaded that the Wine was actually turn'd into *Blood* ; and reported, that they saw it so indeed. And accordingly it is related of their Founder, both by St. ^a *Irenaeus* and St. ^b *Epiphanius*, that he could, to all Appearance, effect this Transmutation, so that the Wine which was before discolour'd should immediately appear to the Standers-by as of a most deep Red, or Crimson ; that it might thereby pass for the Blood of the Supernal Powers, or of the Hea-

^a Lib. 1. c. 8, 9.

^b Hær. 34.

venly Humanity of Christ, descended into the *Chalice*. They distinguish'd betwixt Christ and Jesus, making Christ to be the Dove that descended on Jesus at his Baptism, and left him at his Passion. And many other things they both taught and did, corrupting the Gospel of Jesus Christ, to assist them wherein they had an incredible Multitude of *Apocryphal* Scriptures.

Sect. 3. The *Theodotian Montanists* were a Sect of the *Cataphrygians* that did very much agree with these *Marcosians*, having in like manner abundance of *Apocryphal* Books, and using a vast number of *Theurgical* Rites and Ceremonies. They were the Disciples of the Elder *Theodotus*, who is reported to have made that dangerous Experiment of flying in the Air to his cost.

Sect. 4. The *Proclian Montanists* had the greatest Reputation of any; they were the most numerous, and had Persons of the best Sense and Learning among them, as well as of the best Quality: For they were more sound in the Faith than the rest, and their Discipline extremely recommended them to a great many that were zealous for reforming all what was amiss, and perfecting all that was wanting; but either by a Natural or Supernatural Warmth were prone to be transported too far. In the Doctrine concerning God, the Incarnation, Justification by Christ, and in the Administration of Baptism, and the Lord's-Supper, they said they had no disagreement with the Catholics: Only they had some *Apocryphal* Scriptures, consisting chiefly of the Inspirations of their Prophets and Prophetesses: And they receiv'd also a good number of *Traditions*, which were call'd *Apostolical*: For both of which they were wont to alledge that saying of our Blessed Lord to his Disciples, *viz. I have yet many things to say unto you, but ye cannot bear them now.*

Sect. 5. The *Lencian Montanists* were a Branch of the *Proclians*, who rising up some time after,

did exceedingly abuse those Words of Christ, to authorize all their written and unwritten Traditions; which increas'd upon them prodigiously. They were the Disciples of one *Leucius*, whom *Photius*^a calls *Leucius Charinus*, and makes to have been the Forger of the Acts of St. *Peter*, of St. *Andrew*, of St. *John*, of St. *Thomas*, and of St. *Paul*. These false Acts, under the Names of the Holy Apostles, were receiv'd by these with the same veneration as the *Canonical* Scriptures. And no less had the *Manichees* suck'd them in as Authentick; whence they made their Appeals to them for confirmation of some of their Doctrines: For they pretended hence to prove, not only that the Soul was Material, and by consequence naturally Mortal; but also that there was no essential or real difference betwixt the Form of a Beast and that of a Man, so that the Brutish might be capable of the very same Functions as the Human Soul, as differing from it no more than gradually, and might in like manner also be made Happy or Miserable; yea, be actually immortaliz'd by the Pleasure of God. For the Resurrection of Brutes, no less than of Men, was plainly asserted in these *Apocryphal* Writings, as the Mystery of the Redemption of the whole Creation, groaning to be deliver'd from the Bondage of Corruption. And there were therein also several other Doctrinal Points laid down, well pleasing to the Disciples of *Manes*, who were wont to appeal to these Books, as written some time before the appearance of their Master *Manes*, for the Proof of what they taught; their very grand Fundamental it self not excepted, of two Eternal Principles in Nature. Now hence then this *Leucius* got the Surname of *Manichee*, though he wrote his Books a good while before there were any such Persons as the *Manichees* in the World, at least as

^a Bibl. c. 114.

known by that Name, according to what hath been clearly made out by two very learned Authors^a. For it is prov'd, that he must have liv'd some time in the Second Century, when those *Apocryphal* Books began to creep in by means of the *Montanists*, and must also have been a Person of no inconsiderable Authority; since they bragg'd of having him on their side, whether this were true of him or not. Some hence would have it^b, that there were Two of the same Name; the one a Catholick, who liv'd before the Rise of *Manicheism*, and the other a Heretick, who liv'd after it; but the Reasons for splitting him thus are not very cogent. Since he might very well pass for a Catholick notwithstanding his being a Disciple of *Montanus*, before the Schism was fully form'd, as he had fully discover'd himself; and might pretend easily to have receiv'd his Traditions from *St. John*, as the longest liver of the Apostles, or from some body at least that had heard him; and so might call himself the *Disciple of St. John*^c, and be call'd so by others. This too might pass the better, because he must needs have been Orthodox, in asserting the Divine Nature of Christ, against the *Ebionites* and their Successors; for that otherwise the *Proclians*, who were counted sound herein, would never have so greedily entertain'd his Spirit as they did: Therefore the *Leucian Montanists* were some of the largest Faith in the School of *Proclus*, that were caught by the means of strange and wonderful Relations, to embrace therewith strong and dangerous Sentiments, quite subverting the Truth of the Gospel. Thus they were taught to believe, as has been said, Two Principles, the one of Good, the other of Evil; the one of Light, the other of Darknes; the one of Wrath, the other of Love; Co-eternal and Co-

^a *Mr. Dodwell, and Dr. Grabe.*
N. T. p. 42. 768.

^b *Fabric. Cod. Apocryph.*

^c *Epiph. Hær. 51. n. 6. p. 427.*

equal; and that according to the *First* Principle God was a Consuming Fire, an angry Jealous God; but according to the *Second*, the Father of Lights, and God of Peace. Also that in the *First* Principle, that he was God of the *Jews*; but in the *Second* Principle, was God of the Christians. Also that each of these Principles in the Divine Being might by it self be called God; so that there must be Two Gods, not One God. Also that *Simon Magus* was the Minister of the First, and Jesus Christ of the Second. Also that this Minister of the Second Principle was real God, but not real Man: That he appear'd in all things as a Man like unto us; but that his Flesh was not of the same Nature as ours. Also, that having a Spiritual, or Magical Body, he both could, and did actually transform himself at pleasure into any manner of Shape; so as to appear sometimes to his Disciples as a Child, then as a young Man, after that as an old Man, and then again as a young Man, or a Boy; and so to grow lesser and bigger as it lik'd him, even sometimes so as to disappear for Smallness, and at other times to seem to reach the Heavens with his Head. Also that he derided his Crucifiers, and blinded their Eyes, so as to impose upon them, and make them commit the grossest Mistakes. Also that as Christ was conceiv'd of the Holy Ghost, against the Order of Natural Births; his Religion was to introduce a new manner of Generation, that might not be defiled with Sin. Also that the Natural Act of Human Propagation was in it self *ab origine* Sinful; and that therefore Marriage was not to be allow'd to any Disciple of his, that would be *as the Master*. Such as these were the Principles of the *Leucian Montanists*, which they learnt of their Master *Leucius*, whose Spirit they said did live in them; whom *Innocent I.* and *Gelasius* solemnly condemn'd. But it is farther observable, that this sort of *Montanists* and the *Theodotians*, could have
but

but very little Agreement as to Principles; for that as the one had some Esteem for the *Simonian* and *Valentinian* Theology, the other had the greatest Aversion for, and Abhorrence of it. As it appears not only from this, that their Patriarch opposes *Simon* to Christ, and makes the former an Apostle of the Devil, (as indeed he was) but also from his being most express against the Use of Images in religious Worship, that could be level'd only against the Practice of some of the *Simonian* Hereticks. For it is known, that the *Carpocratians* ^a in particular, had certain little Images of Gold and Silver, which they call'd the Images of Jesus, and are said to have worship'd. *Carpocrates* himself ^b had such an one, which he wore about him as a sort of *Talisman*. And *Marcellina*, one of their Prophetesses, and a Companion of this vile Man, had the Images of Christ, of *St. Paul*, and of others, which *St. Epiphanius* ^c and *St. Austin* ^d report, That she did worship with Adoration of the Body and Offering of Incense. Wherefore in his Acts of *St. John*, a Disputation was by him introduced against the Worship of Images: For which reason he is tax'd by *Photius* severely, and rank'd among the *Iconomachists*, or Fighters against Images; which then sounded as bad as *Theomachists*, or Fighters against God. From all which it appears, that *Leucius* and his Disciples, however superstitious and credulous they might otherwise be, yet were not addicted either to the idolatrous Practices of some paganizing Christians, or to the Abominations of the *Simonian* Magick; but were in this carried besides themselves, in that they thought they were able to explain the Origination of Evil, and in their leaving Christianity as it were without a Body, and so straining things to that

^a Epiph. Hær. 27.

^b Phot. Ep. 38.

^c Epiph. *ibid.*

^d August. de Hær.

pitch as it was impossible to subsist. For as those were of the *noblest of the Cataphrygians*, so were they Spiritualists of the highest Class. And they had even spiritualiz'd away the Truth and Substance of the Christian Religion, had it not been for,

Sect. 6. The *Tertullianists*, another Branch of the *Proclian* Order, being the Followers of *Tertullian*, who were earnest in contending for the Faith as it was at first deliver'd, and zealous against those who made the Gospel of Christ of no effect, bringing in certain Philosophical Heresies and vain Dreams, that had no Foundation. These could not go the Lengths of the other: and therefore had they their separate Meetings from them, as we may gather from *St. Austin*, to the end they might not partake with them in those pernicious Errors they ran into unawares: For we are told by him, that *Tertullian* did set up Conventicles of his own, breaking off from the rest of the *Montanists*: Whence some will have it that he left wholly that Sect, and entering again into the Church, died a Martyr in it. 'Tis probable that these Two might both spring up about the same time; but which of them was the first cannot any wise be decided. The *Montanists* of the *Leucian* Order are not mention'd indeed till about the latter end of the Fourth Century; but they might have been a great deal sooner: Nor are those of *Tertullian's* Rule taken notice of much earlier, who yet must have begun when he was alive. What their Principles and Practices were we shall have occasion to speak of hereafter; and so proceed to

Sect. 7. The *Æschinists*, the Disciples of that *Æschines*, who dissenting from *Proclus* set up a new School of *Montanism*, in which the *Praxeian* Principles concerning a *Nominal Trinity*, were taught and inculcated. They were not indeed so considerable as the former, but there were some learned Men that espous'd their Cause, and created no small

stirs in the Church. Particularly there was *Marcellus*, Bishop of *Ancyra*, who sat in the First Council of *Nice*, and did for some time appear a most zealous Defender of its Faith, but who is charg'd with having been infected with *Montanist* Principles; that is, as interpreted by *Æschines*. Whence also *Asterius*, that writ against the *Montanists*, is said to have written too against this *Marcellus*. In the Third Century they were noted as a distinct Sect, yet were sometimes confounded under the general Name of *Montanists* or *Cataphrygians*. *Praxeas* and *Theodotus* the *Ebionite*, or the Younger, were also reputed among the Doctors. In the Fourth Century they still kept up; but were, when *Pacianus* writ, not much regarded. To these were nearly allied,

Sect. 8. The *Artemonists*, being the Followers of that *Artemon*, who has a Name among the Disciples of *Montanus*, but dissented from him about the Mystery of the *Trinity*^a, inclining rather to the Explication of *Æschines*. For he is said to have disputed against the Eternal Godhead of Christ, and to have fallen in very much with the common Notions of the *Jews*, concerning their *Messias* as a great Prince, anointed with the Holy Ghost, and with Power: Whence he and his Disciples are join'd with the *Alogians*, who rejecting the Beginning of *St. John's* Gospel, therewith discarded also the Christian Doctrine of the Divine Λόγος as a *Platonical* Invention. He was a great Stickler both for the *Millenarian* Notions, and for the Sacredness of *Pepusa* in particular; teaching his Disciples, that this was to be that Heavenly *Jerusalem* upon the renewed Earth, whereof the Prophets had prophesied, and to which all ought to aspire that would secure their eternal Salvation. The

^a Caius ap. Euseb. lib. 5. c. 28. Theodoret. lib. c. 4.
Epiphani. Hæres. 65.

Artemonists therefore were a Branch of the *Æschinist Montanists*, who seem to have embraced the gross Chiliaism of *Cerinthus*, and to have waited for the completion of his Predictions (with those of the new Prophetesses) in *Phrygia*, as the *Holy-Land*, and this *Pepuza* as the City of the Great King. Whence *Pappus* ^a having mention'd the Names of the principal Followers and Advocates of *Montanus*, concludes with their Founder, in these words, *viz. Inter quos Artemon, ne Scholam impiam* (meaning the Sect of *Montanus*, especially as the *Alogians* with the *Æschinists* had modell'd it) *videretur deseruisse, & reliqua omnia falsorum praeceptorum dogmata, quantum in ipso fuit, stabilire conatus est: Et Montani praeipue patriam Pepuzam tanquam Celestem aliquam Hierosolymam esse docebat, de qua Propheta vaticinati essent. i. e.* Among whom, [namely *Theodotus* or *Theodotus*, and *Proclus*, and *Alcibiades*, and *Themison*, and *Patroclus*, and *Alexander*] was *Artemon*; who, that he might not seem to forsake the wicked School where he had been instructed, labour'd with all his Might to establish all the other Doctrines (besides this of Christ's being a mere Man) of his False Teachers; and was particularly zealous to teach Men, that the Country of *Montanus* was to become that blessed Place which had been foretold by the Prophets, as the Celestial *Jerusalem*, or somewhat very like it.

Sect. 9. The *Beryllians* were very little different from the former, with whom they are join'd, when nam'd among the *Montanists*, as the very next to them. They were a little later than the Family of *Artemon*; for *Beryllus* of *Bostra*, their Founder, did not arise till about the middle of the Third Century. There was a danger of their spreading through *Arabia*; but the *Arabian* Bishops so bestir'd themselves in this matter, as a stop was

^a De Hæres. Sect. 2. voc. *Montanus*, p. 236.

suddenly put to this growing Heresy. And *Origen* having both expressly declar'd himself against the Revelations of the *Cataphrygian* Prophets, as of quite another nature than these of the true old *Hebrew* Prophets, and against the false Doctrine of one Party of their Disciples, as taking away the Truth of the Incarnation of the Divine Word; was the Person that was made chiefly instrumental in this Affair. For the Bishops being convened for this end, thought fit to take the Assistance herein of this great Man. So after that several of these Bishops had had Conferences and Disputes with their Brother *Beryllus*, without any sensible Advantage, *Origen* was entreated to enter the Lists with him: The which he did in such a familiar and friendly way, and with such wise management, after the *Socratick* manner, and such strength of reasoning, as intirely to win him over, and make him renounce the Error he had been in, with the fullest and clearest satisfaction to his Judgment. The Acts of this whole Affair were for a long time preserv'd in the Church, wherein the Heresy of *Beryllus*, the Judgments of the Bishops upon it that were there met, and the Questions that were put to him by *Origen*, with the whole Conference which they had together, were register'd. It was no doubt a very notable Piece, and might have been of considerable Service to the silencing of some of our Modern Disputes, about the great Mystery of our Salvation, had it been transmitted down to us. Now *Beryllus* ever afterward firmly adher'd to the Catholick Faith, and those that had been by his Authority seduced into his Error, being with him also convinced, gave Glory to God by confessing the Truth. And thus was there an end of them that were properly *Beryllians*: However some of the same Principles continued still in other Parts, being known by the Name of *Alogians*.

Sect. 10. The *Priscillians* were a sort of *Montanists* in the Desert of *Phrygia*, of the Order of *Prisca* or *Priscilla*; according to whose Revelations they had form'd themselves as into a Body by themselves, and so were called by her Name. And some also say, that they were actually baptiz'd in her Name, as already has been observ'd^a: But whether it were so or no, they submitted for certain to her *Rule*, as given them from Heaven; and rejoiced in being found of the number of her Disciples and spiritual Children. It seems as if they were addicted to certain Magical Rites and Customs above the rest of the *Montanists*^b; and that hence they came to be charg'd so particularly with Oblations of Living Human Blood, and with that abominable Practice of dedicating a Child, by mixing his Blood with the Sacramental Bread. For it is clear, that the charge of this most vile Abomination did principally (if not only) respect this Branch of the *Montanists*, that are called also *Quintillians*. Since these were not two different Branches, but one and the same. Only it is probable they were not call'd by both at the same time; but that during the Life and Presidency of *Priscilla* they went by the Name of *Priscillians*; and after her decease, by the Succession of *Quintilla*, were known by that of *Quintillians*; yet still retaining, perhaps, with some their former Name. These, and the *Theodotians*, were the best skill'd in the Rites of the *Marcosians*, and might thence easily unite: Yea it is likely enough, that either *Priscilla* or *Quintilla*, might stand in the same Relation to *Theodotus*, as *Maximilla* to *Montanus*; according to those Principles, which in the foregoing Article, have been explain'd. We have no account of their particular Sentiments, but we may be pretty sure that the Mystery of the *Heavenly Female* was one

^a Article IV. *Sect. 5.* ^b *Epiph. 48. c. 14. p. 416.*

of their darling Principles; and that they were not sparing to confer the highest Honours on the Female Sex. They had Priestesses as well as Prophetesses among them; and Women that not only took upon them to be Teachers sent of God, but that also arrogated to themselves an Authority of administering the Sacraments of Christ, which was committed to the Apostles and their Successors. And thus were they fitted to run into all manner of Extravagancies, as well as the mad Tribe of

Sect. II. The *Helcesaites*, the most errant and boldest Enthusiasts that ever were, being as it were the Perfection and Complement of all the several Sects of *Montanism* in one; whence they had the Name of *Stelliones*^a given them, to express thereby that they were like to the spotted Lizzards, or as it were the Spawn of the Serpent-kind and Spirit, that was full of Spots, being the Notes or Tokens, of the many pernicious Opinions, and impious Imaginations of the several Enthusiastick Parties and Languages, collected as into one Body. But moreover, as there were several among those that were suspected to be rather *Impostors* than *deluded*, and to act knavishly in the giving forth of their pretended Oracles; therefore also was the Charge of *Stellionatus*, that is, of cozenage, in selling their spiritual Merchandize, laid against them. The Patriarch of this Order was one *Elcesai*; and next to him was *Alcibiades*. They had very little or no Esteem for *St. Paul*, or for his Writings, and imagin'd themselves more rapt into the Third Heaven than he; more conversant with the Celestial Mysteries, and better skill'd to unfold the *Ἀπόρρητα ῥήματα* than he was. Nay, according to *Theodoret*, they went so far as even utterly to reject him. Τὸν δ' Ἀπόστολον (says he) παντὶ ὧς ἠενήθηζεν. And

^a Theodoret. Hær. Fab. l. 2. c. 7. Euseb. H. E. l. 6. c. 38. Quasi *Stelliones* variarum Hæresion maculis insignes. *Par.*

both he and *Eusebius* do agree in this, that they added to this their Blasphemy against the Holy Ghost, to forge a new Gospel or *Alcoran*, giving out that it was written by Angels; for thereby they imagin'd they should gain Authority to it, and to the Mysteries therein contained; and so propagate a certain Method there laid down, of arriving at Perfection never before to any revealed, and very different from the common Faith. On this account they could in no wise bear St. *Paul* for the sake of his *Anathema*, *Gal.* i. 8, 9. with such Solemnity repeated; and found no other way to defend themselves from it, but by denying his Apostleship, as was said, and making an home-stroak at once. They made a Story, how this Book of theirs was brought immediately from Heaven, and after what manner it drop'd down in the midst of them, to the no small surprize of all that were present: And there were found not a few who readily believ'd in what was thus related, having such a Veneration for their Master, as one in whom the Fulness of the Spirit did (in their sense) *bodily* dwell, that they preserv'd his very *Spittle* as Holy, and would not suffer even the *Dust* of his Shoes to be lost; but kept the same, as if there were some latent Virtue transfus'd into it, among the rest of their venerable Relicks. They look'd upon themselves to be an inspired Society, and a Communion of Prophets, that did all receive of his Fulness: Nevertheless they depended much on certain Magical Ceremonies and Operations, and were generally addicted to Astrology, and other forbidden curious Arts; by the help whereof they undertook to perform mighty things, and to lay open Futurities as if they were Present. They pretended to imitate the ancient Divine Prophets; and they observ'd as much of their Discipline and Customs as was sufficient to gain them a Reputation among the Vulgar. They abstained from Wine and strong Drink,

Drink, and gave a sort of Divine Honour to *Water*, as the Receptacle of the Spirit of God, that was conceiv'd by them to be continually *moving* and brooding *upon the Face of the Earth*. The descent of the Holy Ghost upon the Blessed Jesus, when he came out of the Waters, was consequently referr'd to this; in like manner as the Original of their baptismal Ablutions and Lustrations was hence by them derived. Besides the Mysteries which they had in common with others of the *Cataphrygian* Stock, they had some particular ones of their own: They held two Christs, that is, the Earthly and the Heavenly Christ; or two Persons as well as Natures, co-habiting in the same Body, but not after the same manner. They said this Earthly or Lower Christ was born of the Virgin *Mary*, and was no more than a mere Creature; but that the Heavenly or Higher Christ was wholly distinct from the other Person, and was indeed no less than the very Eternal Word and Wisdom of God. They made Christ and the Spirit to be much one; calling indifferently Christ the *Spirit*, and the Spirit *Christ*. They sometimes nevertheless distinguish'd the one from the other, and would maintain, that the Spirit was Christ's *Sister*; holding fast to that distinction of Male and Female in the Heavenly Natures and Essences, after an Heavenly manner, which has been spoken of. They had a mysterious *Cabala* also among them concerning the Longitude, the Latitude, and the Local Diffusion of Christ and the Spirit; in which they broach'd the most extravagant Notions, as secret Revelations that were communicable only to the Perfect. They had several Women among them that they call'd Prophetesses, and unto these, as Priestesses also, they gave the Charge of the *Holy Water*, and the Care of the Mysteries and Rites thereto belonging. They are the First that seem to have maintain'd the lawfulness of Equivocation and Mental

Reservation in certain cases, for prevention of any great and imminent Danger. Whence they counted it no Sin to deny Christianity it self with the Mouth, thereby to save themselves from the outward Death, so they did but keep what was in their Hearts to themselves. Wherein they went contrary indeed to the *Doctrine* of *Montanus*, but not to the *Practice* of many of his profest Followers; who when they were tried, frequently felt very shamefully. This we know was yet never allow'd, or defended by the others; however guilty they might be of what they are taxed with by the Catholics. But on the contrary, it appears to have been engrafted by these last Enthusiasts into their very Religion, as a standing Principle and Maxim; and the occasion hereof was this: In the Persecution of *Maximinus*, their Master *Elcesai* was cast into Prison for professing himself a Christian; but finding himself not able with all his Skill in the *Astral* Magick, wherein he was esteem'd so deeply learned to deliver himself out of the same, as *St. Peter* had been deliver'd by the Angel of Christ; and being struck with the Terror of the Tortures that were prepar'd, and of the approaching Death that was threaten'd, he solemnly renounc'd the Faith of Christ, seeing that he would not send him an Angel to deliver him in like manner. But that he might take off the Reproach hereof, and being willing that others should be like unto him, lest he by reason of his inconstancy should be thought inferior to them; he appointed it for a Law among his Disciples, That they might do even as he had done. And thus we see how that which begun with the greatest Zeal for Martyrdom, if this be not from a Principle of the true Divine Spirit, or an Energy of the Holy Ghost in the Soul, may come to end in the most abominable Apostacy and Antichristianism, that ever can be. Besides these there were also some other Sects of the *Montanists*, or near akin

to

to them, which did arise from time to time, and cause great Troubles in the Church; whereof we cannot here particularly speak, but may perhaps mention somewhat hereafter in the Sequel of our History.

Now as the *Simonians*, the *Menandrians*, the *Basilidians*, the *Saturnists*, the *Valentinians*, the *Carpocratians*, the *Marcosians*, the *Colarbasians*, and a great many others who deriv'd their Pedegree from *Simon of Samaria*, would seem not to glory in the Name of any Man; and therefore, refusing to be call'd both from *Simon* himself, and from the other subsequent Founders and ^a Authors of their particular Heresies, especially too when their Names were grown ignominious, they did unanimously agree to pass under the general Name of *Γνωστικοί*, or the *illuminated*, as those that did possess the secret Key of Divine Knowledge, *Τὸ κλειδα τῆς γνώσεως*, *Luke ix. 51*. So in like manner all the sorts of the *Montanists*, both of the *Proclian* and *Æschinist* Schools, or the *Leucians*, the *Tertullianists*, the *Artemonists*, the *Priscillists*, the *Quintillists*, together with the *Theodotians* and the *Helcesaites*, did also consent with one accord, to quit every such Name as distinguish'd them by their Leaders, and to call themselves all by the one common Name of *Ἰδρυματικοί*, or the *Inspired*, as those that had received the Holy Ghost, that was to lead them further on into all Truth. This has been before observ'd in general; but there are several particular Observations concerning their Appropriation of this Name to themselves, which may afford, perhaps, some Light to their History, and the History of those Times. These therefore I shall beg

^a Atque horum omnium——discipuli uno deinceps nomine *Gnostici* dicebantur, ab eccellente videlicet, quam falso sibi tribuebant, cognitione: Cum repudiatis Majorum & Autorum suorum vilibus & odiosis jam nominibus, de nullo homine gloriari videri vellent. *Pap. de Heresib.* p. 207. Ed. Arg. 1584.

leave just to hint. 1. They set not up under this Name but then when it was the *Time of the Spirit*, that is, before the extraordinary Gifts of the Spirit had ceased in the Church. 2. They took the Advantage when these began to *decline*. 3. They join'd not all at first with those that call'd themselves the *Illuminated*; but rather *by this* distinguished themselves from them. 4. They seem to have pitch'd upon this Name, particularly with respect to those whom St. Jude^a, in his Catholick Epistle, had call'd *ψυχικοί*, *Sensual*, or merely Animal; as were generally those *Gnosticks* who *separated themselves*, under the pretext of greater Spirituality and Knowledg, from the Catholicks. 5. While they appropriated this distinguishing Character to themselves, they still oppos'd (even no less than the Catholicks) as many as *having not the Spirit* yet would separate themselves from those that really *had the Spirit*, that they might be thought to have more of the Spirit than they; and to be of the number of the divinely Illuminated, as the several *Simonian* Sects. 6. They prudently prefer'd the Name of *Pneumatici* or *Spirituales*, to that of *Gnostici* and *Sapientes*, as being much more comprehensive; and consequently more fully adapted to express the perfect State of the *whole* Church, as animated and acted by a Divine Spirit. 7. They by assuming this Title to themselves did not thereby pretend at all to *unchurch* the Catholicks; since there were in the very Days of the Apostles, many baptiz'd Christians who had not receiv'd the Spirit, and so there might be still; but then these they look'd upon as no other than *imperfect Christians*, whereas they took themselves to be *Perfect*, having the *τῆς τελειότητος* (the Perfection or Consummation) of the Spirit. Neither did they hereupon condemn the Catholicks as either Erroneous in Do-

^a Verse 18.

ctrine, or Superstitious in Practice (which is well to be observ'd :) but did reflect on them as having left their First Love, and so fallen from the Spirit of Christianity into the Spirit of the World; and that in consequence of this their Lukewarmness, and the Remissness of their Discipline, God had withdrawn from them the Powers of the Heavenly World, and all the greater Visitations (at least) of his Holy Spirit, which had been in the Age before them so eminently diffused in the Church. This is the best account of their Reason for distinguishing themselves by such a Name as they did, which I can at present meet with: But we see hereby when once a Sluce is open'd, let the Pretences for it be never so fair in the beginning, it is impossible to guess what an inundation of Evils may thence afterward follow. Beside this, which was the most universal, there were several other Names which they were pleas'd well enough to be call'd by. As for instance, the Name of *Cathari*, or Pure, to express their being *not defiled with Women*, or with the *World*, was first known among them: And though it was afterward turn'd to a Name of Reproach, they could not doubtless be displeas'd with it at first. Near akin to this was that of *Saints*, which was a Name originally given to all Christians, but was more peculiarly appropriated to themselves by certain of the Disciples of *Montanus*, in opposition to those they call'd *Psychical* and *Secular*. Some again did please themselves in that of the *Elect*, which was in use also amongst the *Gnosticks*; especially those of them who were noted for their distinction betwixt common Believers or Hearers, and their *chosen* Disciple-hood, to whom the Knowledge of the Mysteries was secretly communicated: And these were those chiefly of the *Pepuzenian* Society, who were called to a nearer Attendance than the rest, and thence stood in the *Election* to be made (or reputed) Prophets,

or Priests, according to that Spirit which rul'd in them. Lastly, Others of them did take a pleasure in the Name of *Apostolical*; for which end they exactly imitated, as to their *outward* Behaviour, the Practice of the Apostles and of the First Church at *Jerusalem*. There were certain Companies or *Faternities* of these in *Phrygia*^a, and also in *Cilicia*, who had all things in common amongst them, and led a sort of Monkish Life. For they admitted none into their Community, who would possess the least thing in Propriety, were it but a Pair of Shoes, or that was married. Some are of the Opinion indeed, that these were a Branch either from the *Encratites*, or the *Novatianists*: But as they were no where but in *Phrygia* and *Cilicia*, where *Montanism* so mightily prevail'd, and were in all appearance as Old as the last, there is no reason but to conclude, that they were strict and proper *Montanists*. Such now were the Names whereby they dignify'd themselves, or were dignify'd by their Admirers and Followers. However it must be acknowledg'd, they were not all for such a distinction of Names; but that many of them were contented with the common Appellation which all Christians went by, and those Titles which the Usage of the Church had render'd Authentick.

Sect. 12. But there were certain Names of Contempt that were given them by others: As, First, All those that are deriv'd from their Leaders, Men or Women, such as *Montanists*, *Alcibiadists*, *Proclians*, *Aschinists*, *Priscillists*, &c. Next are the Names taken from some particular Action, Custom or Ceremony, that had an odd appearance; such as *Artotyrites*, *Passaorlhynchites*, *Toscodnigites*, *Ascodrogites*, &c. which relate to their Offerings, and their Behaviour in the Publick Worship. For it seems some of them had a Custom of presenting in the Church, a Cheese made of *Sheeps* Milk, as

^a Aug. c. 20. Ad quod vult. Deum.

the Product of that Creature which God had been pleas'd so particularly to accept under the Law. Some had a Ceremony of putting the Fore-finger of the Right-hand into the Right *Nostril*, in Token of Attention: Others put the same Finger to the *Mouth*, thereby to command Silence: And others carried about them a *Leathern Vessel*, according to what has been already mention'd. Now because *Ἀσξ* was the Name of the Vessel which these last made use of, and *Δεξυλ* in the *Phrygian* Language did signify a Nose; hence by a medly Composition of two such Words they Nick-nam'd them *Ἀσξοδεξυγι*, i. e. Brethren of the Leathern Bottle, or, Those that have always the Bottle at their Nose. And this too was done by omitting but one Letter in a Name much of the same sort, which was purely of *Phrygian* Origin: For *Τάσξ*, according to St. *Epiphanius*, did express in that Tongue a *Pale* or a *Wedge*; whence they that in Prayer wedg'd in their Fore-finger into their Nose, as a Sign of their Introversion, were by those of the *Phrygians* that adher'd not to them, vulgarly call'd *Τάσξοδεξυγι*, or, *Wedg'd-Nose-Puritans*: But the *Greeks* call'd them *Παρολοεινχι* to the same sense. Then there are also some other sorts of Names fix'd to them, which by an easie Flexion are deriv'd from those that have an innocent meaning, if not a good one. Thus besides the common Reason that is given for the Name of *Cataphrygians*^a, as that they sprung up first in the Borders of *Phrygia*, there is this also: As the several Sects of the Ancient (pretended) *Illuminati* of the Race of *Simon*, were call'd among themselves by the Name of *Gnosticks*, a Name very honourable among the first Christians, as from St. *Clement* of *Alexandria* is evident; but were by some of the Catholics in contempt call'd *Catagnosticks*, or, *False and Coun-*

^a Article I. Sect. 1.

terfeit Gnosticks, to distinguish them from the *True*; that is, from the spiritual and experienced Christians. And as the *Anabaptists* are also in derision call'd in like manner *Catabaptists*; even so the *Montanists* of *Phrygia*, and of the Borders thereabouts, being together with the Catholics of those Parts at first indifferently call'd *Phrygians*, they being thought unworthy of that Name, or at least to pass under one common Name with the Catholics, were therefore distinguish'd from the others by that of *Cataphrygians*. But there is no doubt but the *Montanists* that liv'd in that Province, rejecting this Name as a Name of Ignominy, did still persist as before, to call themselves the *Phrygian* Christians, or the Churches in *Phrygia*. And hence when *Constantine* the Great, had made certain Laws against the Hereticks, and the *Montanists* were involv'd with them in other Provinces, as *Sozomen* takes notice^a, they escap'd in this of *Phrygia*, and the Parts adjacent, without any molestation: The which was not probably on the account of their Numbers only, but that they were there reckon'd for the *Establish'd* Church; otherwise the Laws of *Constantine* must needs have reach'd them. Moreover, as from the severity of their Discipline, the *Montanists* might fitly enough deserve the Name of *Ἀσκηταί*, that is, *Disciplinarians*, or *Exercised*; by the change but of a small Letter, hardly distinguishable, they seem to have been call'd *Ἀσκηταί*, a Title of utmost Disgrace, with a ridiculous Tale pin'd to the end of it; to express their being bloated as with a sort of Dropsy by their Enthusiasms, and to represent them also as the mad Devotees of *Bacchus*. Of this nature there are several like instances to be met with in Christian Writers, as well as Profane: As *Atyches* for *Eutycles*, *Anoetus* for *Noetus*, *Merinthus* for *Cerinthus*, *Asebius* for

^a Hist. lib. 2. c. 32. p. 494.

Eusebius, *Dormitanti* for *Vigilanti*, *Scotinus* for *Photinus*, *Adoxius* for *Eudoxius*, &c. Thus was the Original of the Name *Ascita*, as a general Nick-name of all the *Montanists*, not barely owing to that silly Badge which some are said to have worn; but also, and perhaps chiefly to the religious *Ascetics*, and penitential *Exercises* which the more sober Part of them were wont to practise. To this it may be likewise the Name of *Montani Heretici*, which in some Authors is found, as in allusion both to the Name of their principal Founder, and to their retiring among the *Mountains* out of a religious Pretence, but really to shelter themselves from Persecution, may and ought to be refer'd. There is some Dispute indeed concerning this last; but if the matter be consider'd, there can be little or no doubt but these were either they themselves that were so call'd, being look'd on as a sort of skulking *Banditti* and *Mountaineers*; or at least some Branch derived from them, of which hereafter somewhat may be said.

Sect. 13. And now from all this it appears, what a fruitful Tree this of *Montanism* was, and how it branch'd forth of it self into a great number of petty Sects, filling in a manner those parts of *Asia* where the most famous and flourishing Christian Churches had stood; and how under the most holy Names which these Enthusiasts arrogated to themselves, they went on to propagate their Image, adding still some Peculiarities of their particular Leaders and Chiefs; while on the other hand the Orthodox, who could not bear their Presumption, in assuming so to themselves such Appellations and Titles as they did, gave them generally these other sort of Names which they thought did better become them. This had some influence to be sure upon the Vulgar, who are commonly more wrought upon by Names and Appearances, than by Things and Realities: But the better sort were not so easily mov'd by the Names which were given on one side,

side, or on the other, but set themselves soberly to examine the Merit of the Cause. This was the occasion of a great many *Books* which were written on both sides, and of a great many *Resolutions* of eminent Persons who were consulted hereupon, but who did not undertake to write any set Treatise. Some of these being written with too much warmth, and making use of Reports that had no sufficient Authority, could not answer the end that was propos'd by them: But others being written with more coolness of Thought and a stricter examination of Facts, did sooner attain their aim. It is hard to tell who first began to draw in this Cause, or which of the sides was properly the Aggressors: The *Montanists* pleaded for themselves, that they were first attack'd, when they were at Peace; that they had been insulted by certain *Thracian*, and other Bishops that had nothing to do with them, against the Usage of the Catholick Church; and that they did nothing but defend themselves, as by all the Laws of God and Man they were allow'd to do, whence *Encyclical Epistles* were sent in their Name not only to all the Churches in *Asia*, but those in *Europe* and *Africa* also, according to the Custom in such Cases. On the contrary, the Catholics complain'd that they were first of all aggriev'd, and were set upon by the *Montanists* when they were in the peaceable Possession of their Churches; that they had done nothing but according to the undoubted Rights and Usage of the Church in the Tryal of Spirits; and against the underminers of the Gospel, by their false Pretensions to a new *Paraclet*; and that they were oblig'd by all the most sacred Ties of their Duty, to repel those Attacks that were made, to vindicate the Truth in Christ against the representations of those Letters which were industriously dispers'd up and down by them, to answer the Arguments which either by Word or by Pen, were produced on their behalf;

behalf, and by all proper ways to shew what manner of Spirit it was by which they were acted. We shall then begin with the Writers for the Church against the *Montanists*; and then next pick up what can be found concerning the *Montanist* Writers for their New Dispensation against the Church, and draw a Character of one of their greatest Apologists, out of his own remains.

ARTICLE XV.

Of the Writers for the Church.

Sect. 1. **T**HE first who signaliz'd himself in this Controversy was St. *Apollinaris*, one of the greatest Men that govern'd the Church under the Reign of *Marcus Aurelius*, the celebrated Bishop of *Hierapolis* in *Asia-Minor*, in the Province of *Phrygia*, suppos'd to have been the Successor of *Papias*, a Witness of the Apostolick Age. It appears that he was a Person of great Learning, both Human and Divine: And St. *Hierom* has told us, that he therefore demonstrated by his Writings from what Sect of Philosophy every Heresy among the Christians drew their Errors; which was of vast Service to the Church. He deserv'd the Title of *Most Blessed*, by the acknowledgment of St. *Serapion*, Bishop of *Antioch*, who liv'd a little while after him; and in the succeeding Times he was look'd upon by the Church as a Man worthy of all Praises, as a Bishop whose Memory was Holy, as a glorious Ornament of Prelates, and as one of the firmest and most invincible Supporters of the Church against Heresy. This *Claudius Apol-*

* Ap. Euseb. lib. 5. c. 19. p. 187.

linaris having written a noble Apology for the Christians, which he address'd to the Emperor *M. Aurelius*; besides five Books against the Heathens, and several other considerable Pieces, as particularly one against the *Encratites*, he crown'd all his Works with that which he wrote against the pretended New Dispensation of the *Montanists*, even then when they first began to spring up, or at least not very long after. This seems to have consisted of Letters occasionally written, and not to have been such a Formal and Methodical Treatise as that cited by *Eusebius*, which some have taken to be his; as particularly *Ruffinus* and *Nicephorus*, *Baronius* and *Bollandus*. For St. *Serapion* making mention hereof in a Letter, that he might refute this Enthusiastick Heresy, speaks of it in such terms as these, *viz.* But to let you see that this New Prophetical Dispensation, as they call it, was with execration rejected by the whole Church, I refer you to the Epistles of the most blessed *Claudius Apollinaris*, who was Bishop of Hierapolis in Asia.

Sect. 2. But St. *Apollonius*^a was not long alone in this War; the invincible Power of Truth soon associated to him several Persons, the most Eloquent and most considerable of his Province, and even of very remote Countries; if we may believe what one of the Ancients has asserted, That Pope *Soter* likewise himself, in whose Time these Prophets first appear'd, wrote a Book against them. Some will have it, that the Saint assembled at *Hierapolis* a Council of Six and Twenty Bishops, who declar'd with him against these New Prophecies, and cut off *Montanus* and the chief of his Followers from their Communion. He liv'd to see little more than the Rise of this Sect, for he dy'd before the end of the Second Century, and most probably, as the Criticks are able to judg, in the Life of

^a Euseb. H. E. lib. 4. c. 27. p. 149. v. c. 16. p. 179.

M. Aurelius, and before the Year CLXXX. Yet *Blondell* supposes, that he did not die quite so soon, but that he writ a Year after this against their spreading Enthusiasms; and that this was a matter of Forty Years after that *Montanns* first began to set up himself. It is certain he was strongly supported by the *Phrygian* Bishops, who in this Affair heartily concurred with him.

Sect. 3. There is a probability that *Soter* in the Fourth Year of his Pontificate, that is, in *Anno* CLXXI, testified by some sort of publick Act, that he could no wise approve the pretended Prophecies of *Montanus* and his Society; from whence *Eusebius* begins the *Ara* of *Montanism*. A pretty ancient Author^a adds moreover, That he wrote a Book on purpose against them; which must have been considerable, if it be true, that *Tertullian*, when he became a Defender of this Sect, wrote another Book in Answer to this of *Soter*. True it is, that neither *Eusebius* nor *St. Hierom*, did make any mention of either; so 'tis most likely it must have been only some Epistle which is lost, with that of his to the *Corinthians*.

Sect. 4. About the same time also arose *Miltiades*, a notable Defender of the ancient Spirit of Prophecy, in opposition to this New pretended one, who under the Reign of *M. Aurelius*, or *Commodus*, wrote they say against the Prophets of *Montanus* one of the best Books that was ever written on that Subject^b. *St. Hierom* calls it *Opus Præcipuum*, or a Master-Piece: And both from him, and from *Eusebius*, it appears indeed to have been a most important Piece; the design of it being chiefly to shew, from all Antiquity, that a Prophet or Prophetess, ought not to speak *without understanding*, or without knowing what was utter'd under the Operation of the

^a *Prædest. Hæres.* 26. & 86. p. 28, 19.

^b *Vit. Ill. c. 39. Euseb. Hist. Eccles. lib. 5. c. 17.*

Spirit. This stir'd up the *Montanists* to write against him, and others on the Catholick side to vindicate what he had written; as particularly *Rhodon* and *Serapion*, with *Thraseas*, the first of whom is said by ^a St. *Hierom*, to have compos'd a considerable Treatise [*Opus Insigne*] against the *Cataphrygians*, wherein he had citations out of this *Miltiades*. Yet some will have the Treatise refer'd to by St. *Hierom*, to have been written by another Author; the Account hereof being a little perplex'd: However Mr. *Dodwell* decides it for *Rhodon*.

Sect. 5. *Rhodon* a Disciple of *Tatian*, and consequently well instructed in the Principles of the *Encratite*, and the *Apostolical*, that were near akin to the *Montanists*, being also learned in the Scriptures, and a Person of a solid Judgment, enter'd into the Lists with the *Cataphrygian* Hereticks about the Year of Christ CXC, and came off himself with great Applause. He flourish'd in the Reigns of *Commodus* and *Severus*, and is suppos'd to have been an *Ephesian*, or at least a Native of *Asia-Minor*, where *Montanism* spread it self so exceedingly. He had before got himself a good Reputation, by writing against the *Marcionites*, who in like manner condemn'd Marriages, and the Use of Flesh: And now about the end of the Reign of *Commodus*, as is thought, he appear'd with his Treatise against the *Montanists*, which it seems he survived not long. There are some that make him the same with *Theodotion*, the famous *Greek* interpreter of Scripture, that was also a Native of *Ephesus*, and a Disciple of *Tatian*, and liv'd just about the same time. Others again have confounded him with *Asterius Romanus*, another Writer against them; and some others with the Senator *Apollonius*. He is indeed not mention'd by *Eusebius*, but is put into the Ca-

^a Hier. Vit. Ill. c. 37, 39.

talogue of Ecclesiastical Writers by St. *Hierom*, who must have seen what was written by him, it having then the Esteem among the Catholicks of an excellent Piece, *Opus Insigne*, a Work that made his Name famous. For he was they say, a Person every way qualify'd for such an Undertaking; and having liv'd among these Visionaries, had very great Advantages of getting Materials for his Design. The accurate Mr. *Dodwell* will have him to have written and publish'd his Book against the Disciples of *Montanus* in, or about the Year CLXXXIX of the Vulgar *Aera*: But whether the disputed Fragment in *Eusebius* be really his or not, it doth not follow but that he might still be as good an Author as any of his Contemporaries in that Controversy: And St. *Hierom*, who is a positive Evidence, may very well be allow'd to be in the right, notwithstanding what some surmize to the contrary; seeing there is no Counter-Evidence produced to balance his, but Conjecture only. Nay, should *Rhodon* have written against none but the *Marcionites* expressly, yet cannot it be suppos'd but that in that very Piece, where he had the fairest Opportunity for it, he must needs have attack'd several of the Principles or Inferences of the *Montanists*, which they are generally thought to have deriv'd from them, as well as of the *Encratites* or *Tatianists*, from whom he had deliver'd himself. It is a great pity we have lost what he writ, which would probably have afforded us no mean Materials for this *Historical Account*, which is now so defective without it.

Sect. 6. St. *Thraseas*, Martyr and Bishop, being at that time accounted one of the great Lights of *Asia*, is said to have appear'd about the Year CXCVI, or somewhat sooner, in behalf of the Church that began then to be much over-run with these Fanaticks, whose Revelations he could by no means be induced to assent to, as if they were from the mild and gentle Operation of the Evangelical Spirit; but
concluded

concluded with *Rhodon* and *Miltiades*, that they did spring up from quite another source. ^a *Polycrates* of *Ephesus* mentions him with great Veneration; and the ancient Martyrologists have inserted his Feast in their Calendar. He chiefly signaliz'd himself for his Zeal and Labour, as well in this Case in particular, as in his Vindication of the Christian Faith in general about *Phrygia Pacatiana*, where these Matters were then very warmly debated. The *Roman* Martyrology supposes him to have been Bishop of *Eumenia* in that part of *Phrygia*; but he suffer'd Martyrdom at *Smyrna*, where he was also interr'd, and his Sepulchre visited by the Faithful, for the Remembrance of his Faith and Patience, and Encouragement of their own. And there were also some other Martyrs much about the same time, who with their Blood seal'd at once a Testimony both for the Truth of the Christian Religion against Infidels, and for the Right of the Catholick Practice against the *Cataphrygians*: Of which number were *St. Caius* and *St. Alexander*, both of *Eumenia*, the City whereof *St. Thraseas* was Bishop, who were crown'd at *Apamea* upon the *Meander*, either under *M. Aurelius* or *Severus*. For meeting with the pretended Martyrs of the *Montanists* they separated from them; and because they would not have any Union with that Spirit which spoke by the Mouth of *Montanus* and his Women ^b, they resolv'd to lay down their Lives without communicating with these; desiring that their Blood might not be mingled together in their Death, but that their Declaration might be accepted, of the distinction of the Spirit of Christianity from the Spirit of *Montanism*. It is not certain whether these were perfected by suffering before *St. Thraseas*, or after him. A learned Au-

^a Euseb. H. E. l. 4. c. 24.
Bolland. 10 Mar.

^b Euseb. l. 5. c. 26. p. 183.

thor^a that has written pretty largely on the Head we are upon in his Ecclesiastical History, is inclin'd to place their Martyrdom under the Reign of *Severus*, from the Authority of a Passage cited in *Eusebius*, which he supposes not to have been written till about the CCXXXII Year of Christ; whereas he is of Opinion, that *St. Thraseas* was put to Death in the Persecution of *M. Aurelius*, which was many Years before. If it were so, he must have been some Years elder than *Rhodon*, and have stood up at the same time with *Miltiades* for a Witness against *Montanism*, and against all Pretences to new Divine Revelation that tendeth to break the Unity of the Spirit in the Church: But the matter is no wise clear, and the difference of Time not very considerable. And as for the two *Eumenian* Saints mention'd, whether he was encourag'd by them, or they instructed by him, in their opposing so strenuously the Spirit of *Montanism*, and renouncing it even with their dying Testimony, it may indeed be disputed on either side; but it matters not very much: Nor is it at all impossible that both should be true together. *Usuardus* and the other Martyrologists are positive in making them to be Martyrs under *M. Aurelius*: Which renders their Testimony still the more weighty, as it is more ancient. It also entirely cuts off the Plea for that Pope, who communicated with the *Montanists*.

Seet. 7. *St. Serapion* of *Antioch*, in the Reign either of *Commodus* or *Severus*, wrote a Synodical Letter upon this occasion, to shew that their pretended Inspirations ought not to be receiv'd, and that their Prophetical Spirit was deservedly had in Abomination by the generality of faithful Christians all the World over. The Church of *Antioch* it seems was then infected with them.

^a Memoires par le Sieur D. T. To. 2. Par. 3. Les Montanistes. Art. 3. & 11.

Sect. 8. St. *Clement of Alexandria*, in the Time of *Severus*, places them expressly among the Hereticks. And it appears clearly that he had a Design of Writing also a Book against them, to refute their Errors and Enthusiasms; but whether or no he did ever perform his promise cannot be learnt.

Sect. 9. *Origen* speaks little of the *Montanists* by name, yet is most zealously transported against those who did give the great Name of the *Paraclet* to Dæmons, and to Spirits of Error, who under that Name did trouble the Churches of Christ, and divide the Brethren with woful Dissentions; and who giving up themselves to be seduced by a strange pretending Spirit, cheated the Souls of the Simple by the Ostentation of a more religious Abstinence, and were the undoing of a great many whom they forbid to marry. He condemns those who were always speaking of the Holy Ghost the Comforter, the *Paraclet*, who yet were ignorant of his Majesty (as the *Aischinists* and *Montanists*) and believed not aright in his Divinity. In another place he condemns those who pretended that the Prophets were *out of* themselves when they did prophecy, and knew not what they did then say. Nay, in his Comment upon St. *Matthew* he rejects expressly the false Prophets of *Phrygia*.

Sect. 10. *Apollonius* wrote Forty Years after the beginning of *Montanism*, according to the Calculation of *Eusebius*, a very elaborate and eloquent Treatise, whereof some Fragments are still extant in *Eusebius*, against these Pretenders to the Spirit of Prophecy, while *Montanus* was yet alive and one of his Prophetesses; which was *Maximilla*, for *Priscilla* was then dead. The Historian tells us, that he fully and solidly refuted their Prophecies, answering them *καὶ λέγων*, or Word for Word, as it were Paragraph by Paragraph; and shewing the Falshood of them severally. And St. *Hierom* gives him the Character of a most eloquent Writer.

Some

Some notwithstanding will have him a little too credulous, in picking up Relations of Fact. And *Rigaltius*, who is prejudic'd in favour of *Tertullian*, will have him to be a mere Declamer; but herein is not to be rely'd upon.

Sect. 11. After *Apollonius*, rose up *Asterius Urbanus*, a Person of very great Piety and Modesty, as also of no mean Condition, who had a Conference with certain *Galatians* at *Ancyra*, that had suck'd in the *Montanist* Principles, and were admirers of this new Dispensation of the pretended inspired: An Account whereof he wrote, at the desire of those that had heard him, and digested the Arguments which he had made use of for their Conviction into a set Treatise, which he address'd to one *Marcellus*; and seems to have been greatly esteem'd by the Ancients. This was about Twenty Years after the Labours of *Apollonius* for vindicating the Truth, and about Thirteen or Fourteen Years after the Death of *Maximilla*; when throughout the Churches of *Galatia* the Spirit of *Montanism* had spread it self, and fate as it were in the Temple of God, being grown too powerful to be driven out. He acquainting us in his Preface, which is preserv'd by *Eusebius*, That going a little while before to *Ancyra*, he found the Church in much Disorder and Trouble, by reason of this *new Prophecy* (so called) or *new Prophetical Administration*, which he trusted yet to be able to demonstrate, that it was not so *new* as it was *false*.

Sect. 12. Before this time he was not so well able to do this, and therefore had for a good while withstood the earnest solicitations of *Marcellus*, pressing him to write on this Subject; even till he began himself to be a little suspected for a favourer of the Principles and Spirit of these Pretenders. He saw then it was time for him now to appear and bear an open Testimony for the Truth, because he was apprehensive that some might possibly

charge him too with an intent of *making Additions to the Holy Scriptures, and to the Rules which are prescribed us in the New Testament, and specially in the Gospel*: To which (says he) *there is nothing to be added, neither is there any thing to be taken from it, if one would live according as the same Gospel directs.* He could not therefore have a fitter occasion than this which now offer'd it self: which he accordingly laid hold of. And he was herein also assisted with *Zoticus Otrensis*, whom he calls his Brother or Fellow-Presbyter, and was for certain a Person of Note^a in those Parts; but 'tis not so certain that he was then a Bishop, as some have contended. They were both of *Phrygia*, and had thence opportunity to acquaint themselves as with Facts, which could not be so well learnt at a distance; so also with the Arguments which these new Prophets did make use of. This took them up a good deal of time; and the Conference was continued from Day to Day, till both the Lives of the said Prophets were examin'd, and their Spirit tried by the Fruits which it brought forth, and their Reasons also fully consider'd, and answer'd to the general satisfaction. “ For we had Discourses (saith he) in “ the Church for several Days together, where, “ by the Grace of God, we clear'd up as much as “ it was possible for us, as well all what concerns “ their Persons, as what regards their Objections “ in particular. This succeeded in such a manner “ as the Church had Joy hereby, and was confirm'd “ in the Truth; but the Adversaries Sorrow, to “ see themselves so baffled, and in despair of “ making any farther Progress. The Priests of “ the Place entreated us to leave with them an Account, or Memorial, of what we had said against “ the Enemies of Truth: And our Colleague *Zoticus of Oira*, was present when they made this

^a Bolland. 7. Feb. p. 7.

“ Request, which yet we did not at that time ; but
 “ promis’d them, that at our return we would not
 “ fail to write here [in *Phrygia*] the Account of
 “ what had passed in the Conference, and would
 “ send it them so soon as it was finish’d. This was
 about the XI Year of *Alexander Severus*, and the
 CCXXXII of Christ.

Sect. 13. And about the same time *Caius*, a Priest
 of the Church of *Rome*, set forth in *Greek* a Book
 of Dialogues against *Proclus* ; wherein the Interlo-
 cutors are this *Proclus* and himself. It is the same
Caius who wrote two Books of the Nature of the
 Universe, against *Alcinous* ; which being extant in
 the Time of *Photius*, was by some then attributed
 to St. *Justin Martyr*, and by others to St. *Irenæus* :
 And wherein ’tis observable, that he had much the
 same Notion of the Human Soul, in opposition to
 the *Platonists*, as was communicated by a certain
Montanist Prophetess to *Tertullian*. As for these
 Dialogues of *Caius*, they were in Reputation for
 several Ages : But ’tis hard to pass a Judgment up-
 on them from a few short Citations that are left us
 out of them. *Eusebius* and St. *Hierom* make menti-
 on of this Piece with good Esteem.

ARTICLE XVI.

Of the Writers for Montanism.

Sect. 1. **T**HERE is no doubt but on the other
 side there were Men also of Learning
 and Parts engag’d in defending the *Montanist* Cause
 against the Orthodox : But not only their Books
 are perish’d, but we have hardly so much as any
 Account of them at all. The very Names of those
 that answer’d *Miltiades* are lost, which yet were

thought not unworthy the Consideration of the ablest Men in the Church, and particularly of *Rhodon*. And indeed the Writings of the Orthodox in this Controversy, were generally but Answers to what had been written in favour of the *Phrygian* Prophets, by some that were considerable among their Followers. The Work of *Apollonius* seems to have been an Answer to a certain Collection of their Revelations and Prophecies, which was probably read in their Churches. And the Books of *Urbanus* and *Caius* were both written on purpose by way of Dialogue, as if they were real Conferences, that so all the Objections out of the *Montanists* Writings might this way come to be examin'd and refuted.

Sect. 2. Though we have nothing but the worst part of the Character of *Themison* left us, he appears even thence to have been a Person very considerable; else he could never have been thought a Match by his own Party, for so venerable a Company of Bishops as came together all in a Body, with a design to decide the Controversy betwixt the Church and Them. True it is, that he is condemn'd by the Catholicks for his Behaviour in that Affair; and they might have good Reason to think him too Magisterial: But had he not been a Man of great Presence of Mind, and one of Parts as well as of Courage, he would hardly have been pitch'd upon to engage at once, so many of the most considerable Persons of the Church. Doubtless his Friends esteem'd him so, and made a great matter of it for One of theirs to stand thus against a Dozen at least of the other side: Nor only to be able to stand against them, but even to put them to flight also, and quite defeat their Attempt. Whatever the Circumstances of this Fact were, there must have been somewhat in it more than at first appears. The Catholick Bishops discharg'd their Parts, though they were repuls'd, as faithful
Shepherds

Shepherds under their Great Master : *Themison* discharged his, and was cry'd up for a Victor ; but his Victory, instead of an advantage, was a disadvantage to him ; and by gaining his Cause he became the greatest loser. It was however to the no small satisfaction of those whom he so zealously defended ; and he was therefore numbred by them among their Saints, as afterwards among their Martyrs. And very probably it was upon this occasion that he wrote that *Catholick Epistle* which he sent to the Churches in all Parts, in vindication of the Spirit which spake by *Montanus* and his Prophetesses, the which the *Thracian* Bishops would, by Exorcising, have cast out ; but which he had appear'd for, stiffly maintaining it to be no other than the true Spirit of God. This Epistle manifestly shews him to have been at that time in great Fame and Authority ; but of the Arguments that he made use of in it, there is not the least Account to be had. The Character of the next is more unexceptionable.

Sect. 3. *Proclus* was certainly a Writer among them of very great Esteem, and plac'd in the same Rank as *Justin Martyr* and *Irenæus* with the Christian Apologists. He wrote after *St. Irenæus*, but before *Tertullian*. If he were not the very *Proclus* against whom *Caius* wrote, then we have another Writer also for the *Montanists*, that was a Man of Learning and Reputation. Some have also thought that there was *Miltiades* the *Montanist*, as well as *Miltiades* the *Catholick* ; and place him accordingly in the Catalogue of learned Men and Apologists. As for *Alcibiades* and *Theodotus*, who were more ancient, we know little ; but there is a probability they were both Writers in Defence of this Cause ; for that otherwise they could scarce have arriv'd to make themselves so considerable. The same may be said of *Æschines* too. But the only *Montanist* Author that we have remaining to this Day is *Tertullian*.

tullian. And though there be several of his Pieces preserv'd, which he wrote when in actual Communion with that Spirit, yet have we nothing left of what he writ purposely for it, and in Answer to the principal Writers that had attack'd their new Discipline and Dispensation: Yet since there are abundance of Things that occur in him occasionally, which may afford no mean Light in this matter; some for certain also that we can have no where else, it may not be perhaps unworthy our while to take a short View of this illustrious Person at once, so far as concerns the History of this Controversy in the Church.

Sect. 4. Q. Septimius Florens Tertullianus, a learned *Carthaginian*, having after his Conversion to the Christian Faith, render'd himself eminent throughout all the Churches by his excellent Labours in Vindication of oppress'd Truth, both against Pagans and Hereticks, was at length himself turn'd aside from the Unity of the Catholick Church, and glory'd in professing himself a Disciple of *Montanus*, and an obedient Follower of that Spirit which spoke by the new Prophets of *Phrygia*. While he was yet but inclining towards them, about the Year CCII, he writ a Treatise against the publick Shews, and soon after another upon Idolatry; to shew how many ways, without committing the gross Fact, one may be guilty of that Crime. In both which Treatises their Principles as to matter of Discipline, at least, are very clearly found.

Sect. 5. After he had actually join'd himself with the *Montanists*, he compos'd Five Books against the Heresy of *Marcion*; which yet is allow'd to be a very excellent Piece, and to contain nothing but what is perfectly Catholick and Orthodox. This was written by him in the XV Year of *Severus*, and the CCVII of Christ; and in it he promised his Book of Prescription, for the Trial of all manner of Heresies: Which soon after accordingly appear'd.

pear'd. In this he propounds and explains the Rules by which Christians ought to proceed, in determining who are they that hold the Catholick Faith and Communion, and who not: From which it appears evidently, that the *Montanists* had still the very same Rule of Faith as the Church, however they might err in the Application; and that they valu'd themselves as much upon the Orthodoxy of their Faith and Apostolical Succession, as any whatever. Then he set himself particularly to write against *Praxeas*, by the Rule establish'd in the aforesaid Book of Prescription against Heretics, as one notoriously Innovating in the Doctrine of the Church concerning the Blessed Trinity. He writ also after the same manner against the Herefy of *Hermogenes*, who held the Eternity of Matter; and against the Enthusiastical Sect of the *Valentinians*, upon whom he rallies very pleasantly. He defended likewise, while in Communion with the *Montanists*, the Truth of the Incarnation of Christ, against *Apelles* and *Valentinus*; maintaining his Assumption of a Real Body, like unto ours, in his Book of the *Flesh of Christ*: And the Resurrection of the Body against the *Sadducees*, with the Followers of *Hymenæus* and *Philetus*, in his Book of the *Resurrection*. In another he maintain'd, the Necessity and Excellency of Martyrdom, against the *Gnosticks* and other Temporizers in Religion. And again, after this he undertook, in a set Discourse, to prove, That it was utterly unlawful on any Pretence, to flee from Persecution for Righteousness sake. His Treatise of the *Soul* seems purposely design'd against the *Platonizing* Christians, and such as were for introducing Philosophical Notions into the Faith of the Church, without clear and sufficient Prescription. He writ also a Book against the *Jews*, when he was in Communion with the *Montanists*, even about the Year CCIX, wherein he first proves the Law of *Moses* with its Ceremonies,

to be only a Temporary Dispensation that was to have its Consummation in the *Messiah*: And then shews that the *Messiah* expected by the *Jews*, and predicted by the Prophets, was accordingly already come, and had fulfill'd the said Law; and that this was, or could be no other than the Person of that Jesus whom the Christians acknowledg'd and ador'd. A few Years after this, *Antoninus Caracalla* being Emperor, he drew up an Apology or Address to *Scapula*, the Roman Governor of *Africa*, to divert him from his Persecution against the Christians; in which it seems thence, that both *Montanists* and Orthodox were alike involv'd together. This is a most noble Justification of the Primitive Christians, as to their constant and inviolable Loyalty. And about the same time also, near about the Year CCXIII, he writ his Two Books against the *Gentiles*; in which he shews himself to have been a great Master in the Heathen Theology: And 'tis observable, that these are written with less Fire, and with more of Reflection and Method than his famous *Apology*, which he is generally suppos'd to have written when he was yet a Catholick. Which is a clear Evidence, that his Head was not turn'd by the Prophecies of *Montanus*, or his Women, as some might be apt to think.

Sect. 6. In his Book *de Pudicitia*, which was written in behalf of the *Montanists* against the Catholics, he casts not off Reason, but proceeds as much upon Principles as ever he had done. Here he maintains, that the Officers of the Church are not authoriz'd to forgive the Sins of Fornicators or Adulterers; but that when Men are once fallen into these Crimes after Baptism, let them do what Penance they will, they must never expect to be admitted again into the Communion of the Church, without some extraordinary Declaration at least from Heaven in their favour; and so are to be left wholly to the uncovenanted Mercy of God, as they have

have broken the Seal of the Covenant, and defecrated the Temples of his Holy Spirit. However he denies not absolutely, that there is such a Power in the Church; but will not have it us'd for fear of the Consequences that might ensue. For which end he cites a Passage ^a out of one of the *Phrygian* Prophets, as in the Name and Person of the Holy *Paraclet*, saying, *The Church hath Power to forgive Sins; yet I will not forgive them, for fear of giving encouragement hereby to Men to Sin the more.* Where it is certain, that by the *Church* they understood their own; and by *Forgiveness of Sins*, the publick and authoritative Declaration thereof. In his Book of *Monogamy*, which was also written for the *Montanists*, he condemns Second Marriages as little better than Adulteries. In his *Exhortation to Chastity* he expresses the same Rigours. In his Discourse of *Fasts* he commends the excessive Fasts of *Montanus* and his Disciples, who kept several Lents, as has been said; and observed the Fasts of the *Stations* as matter of Obligation; which they made to last till the Evening, and did not eat, according to him, any thing but Bread and Fruits. And there is a great deal to the same purpose to be found up and down in his Writings, as to matter of *Discipline*.

Sect. 7. As for the Rule of Faith and the principal Doctrines of the Christian Religion, *Tertullian* and the first *Montanists*, were, as we before observ'd, in very good Agreement with the Church: This he acknowledges in those Books which he wrote against the Catholics, under the Name of *Psychical*, or *Animal*, that is, mere Formal and Pretended Christians; speaking herein most advantageously of *Montanus* and his Prophetesses, not as if they made the least alteration in the Rule of Faith and Doctrine, but as believing that the Holy Ghost had inspired them to set on foot a more

^a *Pag.* 139.

perfect Discipline than was then in the Church. He says that he always believed *One only God in Three Persons*, and that he believ'd this yet more strongly still, ever since that he had been instructed by the *Paraclet*. And when he writes in another place, concerning the obligation of Virgins to be veil'd, he says, "That excepting the Rule of Faith, which is unmoveable and immutable, and where- to nothing is to be added, or any thing in it to be varied, Manners and Customs may be reformed and changed, according as occasion may be: And that this is that which the *Paraclet* had done by the Ministry of *Montanus*, who had taught Men a Discipline much more Perfect than even that which the Apostles had taught.

Sect. 8. Now the main Principle upon which he proceeded when he turn'd *Montanist*, seems to me to be this: That among the Articles of Faith receiv'd before the most ancient Hereticks, and consequently before ever the Dispute of *Montanus* arose, this was certainly one, That Christ had sent, according to his Promise, the Holy Ghost the *Paraclet*, to guide the Church into all Truth, and to govern the same in his Name. But notwithstanding the Descent of the Holy Ghost on the great Day of *Pentecost*, in a manner so miraculous upon the Apostles, and others, the whole Will of God was not therefore suddenly, or all at once to be reveal'd, but successively, and at fundry Times. Hence he thought that the Spirit had not fully instructed the Church by the Apostles, but had reserv'd several things to be in due Time declar'd by little and little, When he would, and by Whom he would; and this is what he had done by *Montanus* and his School of Prophets. This is what appears particularly from his Three first Chapters of the Book for *Monogamy*. He nevertheless maintains in the same Book, that the Holy Ghost had brought by this Pretender a new State or Dispensation, different

rent from that either of Christ (in the Flesh) or of St. *Paul*; and that he had given forth by him the Perfection and Maturity to the Truth, which under Christ and St. *Paul*, had not yet arriv'd to its full Age, but was as it were in a Juvenile State. And hence St. *Hierom* attributes to the *Montanists* this Blasphemy, That God not being able to save the World either by the Law and the Prophets, or by the Incarnation and Death of Jesus Christ, he was at last descended through the Holy Ghost into *Montanus*, who had receiv'd that with Fulness, which *Paul* had receiv'd but in part, and with Measure. Upon which Principle the ancient Author of the Appendix to the Prescriptions of *Tertullian* says, That the *Montanists* held that the *Paraclet* had given more perfect and more exalted Precepts by *Montanus*, than Christ himself had done by the Gospel; they receiving as Oracles from Heaven all whatever this Visionary did say, of what was more severe than the ordinary Discipline of the Church; as if it must therefore be more Perfect because more impracticable, and above the common Capacity of Human Nature. The which is easily to be seen in the Writings of *Tertullian*, that relate to Discipline.

Sect. 9. He is also said to have written an Answer to *Apollonius*^a, in which he undertook to clear his Friend *Montanus*, and the Chiefs of that Party, of all that had been charg'd either against him or them; but this Piece is intirely lost. And 'tis the Opinion likewise of^b some, that he did write another Book in the same Cause against *Soter* Bishop of *Rome*, who had writ something, whether by way of Epistle, or otherwise, against the *Cataphrygians*. Certain it is, that there were Six Books *De Ecstasi*, or of the Ecstactical Visions and Revelations of this

^a Hær. Vir. Illustr. c. 11.

^b Prædest. Hær. 26, 86. p. 79. Sirmond.

Montanist Society written by him, which are mention'd by St. *Hierom*^a, and must have been considerable. And it may be, that after having written his Six Books of Ecstasy against the Catholics, he might add to them a Seventh against *Apollonius* in particular, as some have concluded from St. *Hierom*^b. But St. *Austin*^c on the contrary, will have him to have written purposely against the Sect of *Montanus*, and to have overthrown it. Into which mistake he must have fallen probably, either from the Catalogue of Heresies at the end of his Prescriptions, in which they are treated both as Hereticks and Blasphemers, the which was afterward added in Transcribing^d by some other Hand; or else from some scatter'd Passages in his first Writings, before he had left the Communion of the Church, in which he clearly favour'd the Catholics against the *Montanists*: As particularly when he says^e, That *Women* ought not to Baptize or Teach in the Church, contrary to the Discipline of the *Montanists*: That the Christians had but *one* solemn^f Fast, which was that before *Easter*, contrary to their Custom, who had Two more besides: And that Crimes committed *after* Baptism^g were not unpardonable, but might be done away by Repentance; and the Persons offending admitted, after Works of Penitence to Absolution by the Church: Yet some doubt whether this last were said by *Tertulian* or no. For it appears, that his natural Genius and Disposition led him still to pursue what was extreme. And if his Book *de Pallio* were indeed the First Book which he ever writ, as *Scaliger* will have it, hence it may easily be seen that what afterward manifested it self, through his Conversation

^a De Vir. Ill. c. 40. p. 282. ^b L. Hist. Eccl. Tom. II. Par. III. Mont. Art. XI. ^c Aug. Hær. 86. ^d Du-Pin Nouv. Bibl. ac Ant. Eccl. Tom. I. Test. ^e Lib. de Bapt. ^f Lib. de Orat. ^g Lib. de Pœnit.

with *Montanus* was at first rooted in his very Nature. The Conjecture of *Baronius*^a, that he turn'd because he could not be made Pope, being displeas'd that *Victor* should be preferr'd before him is without Foundation. And the Guess of *Pamelius*^b is altogether as groundless; that his disappointment in not obtaining the Archbishoprick of *Carthage*, which he coveted, was the Cause. For that he was, however deluded, a Person of Sincerity we cannot but conclude, as well from the Testimony of the Ancients, no wise Partial for him; as from his own undoubted Remains, which give us the clearest Picture of his Mind, and discover no less his Faults than his Virtues. The fundamental Mistake, and original Motive which led him to all this, was a too forward Zeal for somewhat very great and extraordinary in Religion, before it was sufficiently authoriz'd by the Church.

Sect. 10. Vincentius Lirinensis bemoaning his Fall, allows him yet the Title of *Nostrorum omnium facile Princeps*, or, The First and Chief of all the *Latin Church-Writers*, without comparison. And 'tis well known that *St. Cyprian* call'd him his *Master*, read every Day some Portion in him, made it his Study to imitate him, and compos'd most of his Works upon the same Design as he had, as might particularly be shewn. Wherefore also the afore-said *Vincentius*^c breaks out in Admiration concerning him, after this manner. “ Is there an Author
“ more learned than he? Is there any more con-
“ summated and experienc'd in the Sciences both
“ Ecclesiastical and Profane? Has he not included
“ in his vast and prodigious Memory, all the Phi-
“ losophy of the Wise, the Maxims of different
“ Sects, with all the Histories, and all the Arts and
“ Sciences? Is there not such a Gravity and Man-
“ linefs in his Genius, such Sprightliness and

^a Annal. Ad An. CCI. ^b Vit. *Tertul.* ^c Contra Hæres. c. 24.

“ Vigour

“ Vigour in the Management of his Thoughts,
 “ whereby he excell’d those he engag’d with ; as
 “ he scarce ever undertook to oppose any thing,
 “ but he either gave it a deadly Thrust with the
 “ *sharpness* of his Wit, or else bore it down with
 “ the *weight* of his Reason? Or who can commend
 “ enough the Beauties of his Discourse, that is so
 “ bound together with a Chain of Reasonings and
 “ irresistible Consequences, as he even forces the
 “ Consent of those whom he cannot persuade. Al-
 “ most every Word is a Sentence in him; and every
 “ Sentence is as it were a Victory. For the Truth
 of which, appealing to what he had written both
 against the *Jews, Gentiles* and *Gnosticks*; and in par-
 ticular against the Heresies of *Marcian, Apelles,*
Praxeas and *Hermogenes*: He afterward applies to
 him that famous Text of *Deuteronomy*^a, against the
 Prophet enticing to go after *other Gods*, which he
 interprets of those delusive Spirits taking up the
 Name of God in *Montanus* and his Prophetesses.
 Thus then we see how *so very learned, so zealous,*
so pious a Man was notwithstanding seduced out of the
Communion of the Church, and became the Head of a
Schism by his too forward Zeal for the Prophecies and
Discipline of Montanus.

Sect. 11. It doth not appear by his Books that he
 ever return’d to those he left ; and there is not one
 of all the Ancients that says he did so: But on the
 contrary, they speak of him generally as of one
 that dy’d out of the Communion of the Church :
 Yet nothing certain can be determin’d in this Point.
 And perhaps after all, they might mean no more
 than that he continued to the last to have the same
 favourable Opinion of the *Montanist* Principles
 and their Revelations, as he had formerly ; or
 that he never retracted them by any solemn Deed :
 Which might be very true ; and yet, in considera-

^a Ch. xiii. v. 1—6.

tion of his other Merits and Services for the Church, there might be some indulgence us'd towards him, and so he might not be formally cut off from the Communion of the Catholicks; especially while he did not condemn theirs as in it self unlawful, or by consequence thereof separate himself from it. 'Tis well known, that the Churches of *Africa* having not all those Provocations as those of *Asia*, did in the Case of the pretended Prophets, carry themselves with a greater appearance of Lenity and Moderation towards them and their Followers, than they that had been so provok'd to exert their Authority committed to them by Christ: That they did not proceed to any publick and solemn Determination against them till about the Year of Christ CCXXXI, which probably might not be till after the Death of *Tertullian*: And that before this time they bore with them in much Patience, suffering them rather to exclude themselves, than to leave them any occasion of complaining that they were excluded; and receiving them when they had broken the Catholick Peace, to Peace again by Imposition of Hands. Also there is no manner of Proof that he did ever actually separate from, or disown the Orthodox Communion, either from his own Writings or the Writings of others; even when he exclaim'd so much against the Heads of it as no better than *Psychical*, for condemning and excluding those whom he esteem'd to be the truly *Pneumatical*, or the *perfect* Christians: Nor is it any wise probable, that a Man of such Principles for Catholick Unity, should, for the sake of any private Speculations or Fancies, openly and manifestly violate that Peace which he had so strenuously and so often defended; or should break himself, the Bond of that Communion which he had upon Catholick Principles, so severely charg'd upon others; even a Communion which we can never find that he once thought to be *unlawful*, but only

not Perfect. And if he separated not himself from the Churches in *Africa*, so long as there was no positive and exprefs Decision of theirs made against those whom he so extremely favour'd; much less is there any Evidence to shew that he was separated by them, or that the Sentence of the *Asiatick* Churches was so ratified, as to be particularly apply'd to him, and his Case; the which we may very well allow to have had somewhat in it that was peculiar. Moreover, had it been so, it can scarce be doubted but we should have heard of it in one or other of those Books which he purposely wrote against the Catholicks, as sunk from the true Spirit of Christianity into the Natural and Animal State; and that he would loudly enough have complain'd against them for such a Proceeding as this. Wherefore there being no such Complaint, notwithstanding there was all the opportunity for it that could be expected, it may not unreasonably be suppos'd that the *African* Bishops, to whom *Tertulian* was so well known, were not willing to proceed against him roughly; but rather to bear with him, both for the sake of the Good which was in him, and for the sake of a greater Evil which was fear'd from the other Method: And that so, in condescension to his Infirmary, and in acknowledgment of the real Services he did the Church against most of the Hereticks of those Times, as well after as before he was a *Montanist* in his Judgment; they chose to let him alone, that if by any means they might so win him, leaving him to God, and waiting tenderly, and praying for his Conversion from the Error of his Mind. But tho' it doth not appear that he was formally cast out of the Church, or depos'd from his Priestly Function; it is clear he was generally look'd upon as *Ecclesiae non Homo*, as *St. Hierom* calls him, that is, Not one with the Church, or, a Man not so of it as was fit to be appeal'd to for a Witness in matters relating to its Discipline or Practice.

Practice. Now then as he was a Presbyter of the Church of *Carthage*, and seems to have continued so even after he adher'd to the Party of *Montanus*, he in all likelihood kept with himself a great many that were *Montanists* in their Principles within the external and visible Communion of the Church, and within certain bounds of Modesty also, as to the boasted Revelations of their Prophets: And that on the other side he, by the Authority both of his Learning and strict Holiness of Life, and his Zeal for the Propagation and Defence of the Christian Religion against both *Jews*, *Gentiles* and Hereticks, made there so considerable an Interest with the Clergy, as well as People, as while he was at the head of that Party, they concluded it best on several Accounts, not to eject those who did not eject themselves. Thus then the *Africans* were for a while more restrain'd than the *Asiatick Montanists*, and kept from running out presently into all those Extravagancies which these are charged with. However, they had in his Time, and probably under his Direction too, such Meetings for prophesying as have been mention'd, to succeed the *Beth-Hammidrash*, without pretending thereby to interfere with the publick Communion, so far as we can find: Nevertheless they could not but be very prejudicial to the same; as the Event did prove. Whether these were at first Occasional or Stated, it is not to be known; but be it as it was, they at last for certain ended in a manifest and flagrant Schism. He had doubtless no such Design, but he was carry'd farther than he saw; and so he more than laid the Foundation of subverting that Unity of the Church, which he had so earnestly and so strenuously pleaded for. One of the Ancients says yet, That he left at last the *Montanists*, and set up little Assemblies or Societies of his own. But this possibly might mean no more than that, having had Experience of their Spirit, he would not suffer him-

self to be led by an implicit Faith to swallow every thing that they would have him, or be prevail'd on to own Theirs as a distinct Communion from that wherein he was baptiz'd, and whereof he was also a Priest: And that therefore he maintain'd those private Meetings for prophecying, as they were regulated by him, and thought not inconsistent with joining in Communion with those who had not yet publickly declar'd against them. There is, I know a Modern Writer ^a who pleads hard, that he did not from being Orthodox turn *Montanist*; but that on the contrary, from being at first a *Montanist* he turn'd Orthodox or Catholick: In which he had a manifest Design to represent the Catholick Doctrine concerning the Blessed Trinity, as a pure *Montanistical* Invention or Enthusiasm; and the *Arian* Doctrine as the true Orthodox Faith, in that Age universally receiv'd. But his Reasonings at best are but mere Conjectures: And then he can hardly persuade himself, either that this Father should ever fall into an Heresy which he had so oppos'd with all his Might; or else that St. *Cyprian*, who was so strictly Catholick, should ever pay him that Veneration as he did, and give him ordinarily the Title of his *Master*: When the whole is but an egregious Fallacy; since it is sufficiently evident, that the first *Montanists*, and particularly the School of *Proculus*, or *Proclus*, did perfectly agree with the Catholicks as to the *Trinitarian* or *Homousian* Mystery; and that he did not write *against* the *Montanists* when he wrote against *Praxeas* or *Hermogenes*, but rather *for* them, he being then actually a Disciple of *Montanus*, and Believer in the new Prophets of *Phrygia*, so far at least as he could reconcile them or their Revelations, with that Scheme of Principles which he had before laid down from Apostolical Prescription, and the consentient Te-

^a Sand. Nucl. lib. 1. p. 53, 54, 55.

Testimony of the Universal Church; which we do not find that he ever departed from, however he might happen to be mistaken in the Application. Wherefore as there is no Proof that he was either formally degraded or excommunicated, notwithstanding his open adherence to the *Cataphrygian* Reformers; so much less can we see any appearance that he ever acknowledg'd his Error, or was thereupon reconcil'd to those whom he had so greatly offended, and who had treated him with so much Tendernefs and brotherly Forbearance.

Sect. 12. It is thought by some that he dy'd a Martyr for the Faith of Christ, and that so the Errors of his Judgment were purg'd away by that Last of Baptisms, which is nam'd *Baptismus Sanguinis*, or, The Baptism of Martyrdom. *Rhegino* reckons him in the number of those Witnesses, who in the Persecution of the Church shed their Blood for the Testimony of Jesus. *Rhenanus* follows him in the Account of his Life and Death. And in the Martyrology of the Roman Church by *Usuardus*, there is upon the Fourth of *August*, mention made of the Passion of one *Tertullian*, or *Tertulline*; who after having been beaten with Clubs, and tortur'd both by burning his Sides and by extension of his Joints, had his Head cut off in the *Via Latina* by Rome. This is said to have been taken out of the Acts of Pope *Stephen*, and it is dated under *Aurelian*. But it is not likely that this *Tertullian* could be then alive, tho' it should be granted what some are willing to have, that he withdrew himself from *Carthage* to Rome, and there finish'd his Life: For he must needs then have been about one hundred Years old, by modest computation. And if *Aurelian* were a mistake of the Transcriber, as perhaps it might, instead of *Valerian*, under whom the said *Stephen* suffer'd, yet even then will his Life be extended the space of Twenty Years, or more, beyond the common

Opinion of it. Indeed neither the Time nor Manner of his Death are exactly known, but he liv'd to an ^a extreme old Age, and was had in very great Reputation, not only with those of his own Party, but even with the Catholicks, and this throughout all the Churches; notwithstanding that the Error which he fell into detracted from the Authority of his Books ^b there, at least, where there was not somewhat more than bare probability. He seems to have collected the Inspirations which were given forth under the Name of the *Paraclet*; for from a Passage in his Book of the Soul we learn ^c, that the Visions of the others were brought to him; and that he himself was also sometimes a Speaker in their Congregations. Which may well enough consist with what hath been now advanced.

ARTICLE XVII.

Of the Progress of Montanism.

Sect. 1. **A**FTER the Death of *Tertullian* the *Montanists* did not presently lose their Ground, which they had gotten very much by the means of his Writings: For *St. Firmilian* finding their Sect to spread, and that they profess'd themselves to have the same Faith and Baptism as the Catholicks, and only to differ from them in greater Spirituality and Purity, gather'd a Council of Fifty Bishops at *Iconium*, who determin'd their Baptism to be Invalid and Null. This was in or about the Year CCXXXI, before which all Communion did not seem to be so entirely cut off be-

^a Hier. de Script. Eccl.

^b Hilar. Commen. in Matth. V.

^c De Anim. c. 9.

twixt them, because the validity of the *Montanist* Baptism was hitherto allow'd, and so any one might be admitted, upon submission to the Discipline of the Church, into Catholick Communion. But after this none could be admitted by Penance (though never so great) into the Communion of the Church, having pass'd now this second Excommunication upon them; but were receiv'd into it by Baptism only: So were they never so solemnly before baptiz'd among the *Montanists*. This was held no manner of Advantage to them, but rather a Disadvantage; as they were suppos'd to be admitted thereby into Communion with those deceiving *Demons* that did possess and act those that were thus cut off from all Communion with good Spirits, and deliver'd up to the Evil.

Sect. 2. And now all Correspondence being entirely broken off, there was no further hopes of any Accommodation; for Matters hereupon grew to that extremity, as the one could not live by the other. The *Montanists* were look'd upon by the Catholicks as now given over entirely into the Power of Satan, to work in them with all the deceivableness of Unrighteousness; and the Catholicks were on the other side reproach'd by the *Montanists* as Sensual and without the Spirit, who knew nothing of the true Life and Power of Christianity, and as Persons wholly apostatiz'd from the Primitive State and Love of the Apostolical Churches. The Catholicks had waited long, and tried all the means that could be us'd to reclaim and undeceive them, and bring them back into the Unity of the Church: But finding all to be so unsuccessful, and themselves also to be so highly charg'd, and contemptuously treated, they thought there a necessity for them to proceed after this manner, in order both to their own security against all contagion from the *false* Baptismal Spirit warring against the *true*, and to the Vindication of the Authority of

Christ and of his Apostles, and their Successors, which was still more and more struck at by these.

Sect. 3. For they proceeded from one degree to another, never stopping, or knowing where to stop, while they wandred from the Unity of Christ's Body, and refus'd to return being invited. And hence, as the first *Montanists* were ambitious to appear more Spiritual and Holy than the Catholicks, so had the latter the very same Ambition to out-do these as much; and by giving themselves up to the uncertain Dictates and Impulses of a strange Spirit which they knew not, they were insensibly led on by it whither they least suspected: So there was then the greatest Confusion imaginable amongst them, and all manner of Extravagancies were committed by some of them, as if they had an express command for so doing from Heaven. They divided and they subdivided without end into many Parties or petty Sects, all pretending in like manner to the infallible Guidance of the Spirit, which were denominated for the most part from their principal Leaders or Founders. Thus besides the *Proclians* and *Æschinists*, that have been already mention'd, there was one sort of them who were call'd *Tertullianists*; another *Priscillists*; a Third were the Disciples of ^a *Leucius Carinus*, a sub-division of the *Proclians*; and so of the rest. At *Ancyra* in *Galatia*, there was a certain sort of them call'd ^b *Passalorrhinckites*, who had a ridiculous Custom of holding their Fore-finger to the Nose in Prayer. At *Thyatura* there was another sort of them, that did seem to be a set of religious Ranters; whence *Epiphanius* is of the Opinion ^c, that they were predicted by *St. John* in the *Apocalypse*; and that the *Jezabel* of whom mention is therein made, and who has the Title of a Prophetess ascrib'd to her, doth expressly

^a Baron. Ann. cclxxvii. c. 42, 43.

^b Hieron. in Gal. l. 2. Pr. p. 174. ^c Har. 51, 52.

point at the Prophetesses of *Montanus*. And Monsieur *Le Clerc* thinks it might be the Name of some one Woman that took upon her the Title of Prophetess at *Thyatira*; but which for want of the Records of that Age, we cannot understand.

Sect. 4. Now those *Thyatirian Montanists*, notwithstanding their boasted Revelations, were, it seems, guilty of very great Immoralities, and were also such Latitudinarians in Religion as even to trim, upon occasion, with the very Heathens, and to partake of their Sacrifices. But the greatest Mischief was, that they were here for some time freely tolerated, without putting the Censure of the Church in execution against them, till they got such an head as they could no longer be resisted: For out of an over-great Tenderness and easiness of the Bishop or Angel of the Orthodox Church in *Thyatira*, they were it seems, permitted and indulg'd against an express Admonition of Christ himself to the contrary (peculiarly address'd to him and the said Church) to spread their Enthusiastick and Latitudinarian Doctrines, which tended directly to spiritual Adultery and Communion with those very *Demons* that gave forth their lying Oracles among the Heathens. So that the true Apostolical Christianity, whereof *St. Carpus* was here the last Martyr and Bishop, became by their means wholly extinct in this City and its Dependencies, about the Year of Christ CCL, or a little afterwards. And hence the *Alogi*, a sort of Hereticks that sprung up in those Parts much about the same time^a, who rejected all the Writings of *St. John*, pretending that none of those were his, but were all counterfeited by *Cerinthus*; concluded without further examination, that there was no Church at *Thyatira* during *St. John's* Life, and that consequently *St. John* could never write such an Epistle to them, or Christ

^a Epiph. Har. 51. c. 3, & 34. p. 423, 456.

dictate it to him by his Angel. They suppos'd there was none in his time, because there was none in their own; and drew thence a conclusion as false as it was injurious to the Divinity of our Blessed Lord, whom they thus attack'd through the Sides of his beloved Disciple. In such manner then was the over-spreading of *Montanism* in this City, and their symbolizing with the idolatrous Rites and Practices of the Heathens, made use of by those Hereticks as an Argument against the Divine Authority of a Book, which ascrib'd greater Honour to the Person of Christ than they were willing to allow him.

Sect. 5. And indeed for above one Hundred Years there was nothing of a Christian Church remaining in this Place; so entirely was the Foundation of the Apostles here overturn'd by the Enthusiasms of this Sect, and by their infamous Compliances; which made one of the Catholick Writers about that Time expostulate after this manner, saying, "Who of them has been ever persecuted by the
 " Jews, or put to Death by the Pagans? Let them
 " name but one, if they can. Is there any one of
 " them that hath been apprehended and crucified
 " for the Name of the Lord Jesus? It doth not
 " appear. Yea, was there ever found so much as
 " one of all their Women, calling themselves Pro-
 " phetesses, who can shew that they receiv'd at any
 " time even so much as one Stripe, or one Blow,
 " for this Cause? Wherefore soon after the Death
 of St. *Carpus* the Inhabitants both of *Thyatira* and
 of the Country of *Lydia* thereabouts, being bewitch'd by the Sorceries of these false Prophetesses, after having once departed from the Simplicity of the Gospel of Christ, easily fell away into Idolatry, and made a strange medly of the Christian Religion with the Heathen. This continued till about the Year CCCLXX at least, or a little before the Time that St. *Epiphanius* writ.

Sect. 6. Nor did the Power of the *Montanists* extend it self in this manner only over the City of *Thyatira*, and the neighbouring Parts, but even over all the Province of *Phrygia*; since the Emperor *Constantius* having banish'd *St. Paulinus* of *Treves* into *Phrygia*, *St. Hilary* hereupon says, "That he
 " had relegated him out of the Christian World,
 " sent him to a Place where the Name of Christian
 " was not known, and caus'd him to seek his Bread
 " either among the barbarous *Isaurians*, that own'd
 " no subjection to the Empire, or else to receive it
 " defiled and polluted for the Den of Montanus or
 " of Maximilla, that own'd none to the Church.
 And that the *Montanists*, it seems, of that time, ever after the declaration of their Baptism to be invalid, were not so much as call'd by the Name of Christians. And by the *Den* of *Montanus* and *Maximilla* there is a plain allusion to those *Dens*, or subterranean *Grotts*, from which the Heathen Oracles were commonly given forth. They continued in this Province in the time of *St. Austin*; however there were some remains of true Christianity here left.

Sect. 7. About the same time, and afterward in all the Region of *Cilicia* the Spirit of *Montanism* went on to spread it self, perverting the Churches and deceiving the simplicity of the Faithful, as it had done in *Phrygia*: For in the time of *St. Epiphanius* it had already over-run this Country, and it continued still to make its Conquests or Ravages, till all being brought into the greatest Confusion, the Name of Christianity was in a manner lost; and then God by his just Judgment, suffer'd another Spirit to arise up, even that of Mahometism, which swallow'd up the former. Then after this came the Country, in process of Time, by way of Eminence, to take the Name of *Turcomania*. And thus it being ordinary for Man to fall from one extreme to another when he is left to himself, the over-
 strictness

strictness of the *Montanist* Discipline at first was the means of introducing the Mahometan looseness in the end.

Sect. 8. Thus also it was in *Galatia*, where there were a great many *Cerinthians* that were prepar'd to embrace the Spirit of *Montanus* and *Maximilla*: The entertainment of which Spirit did also afterward make way for an Inundation of another (and that a worse) sort of *Cerinthianism*, from the pretended Revelations of the Angel *Gabriel* to *Mahomet*; who likewise took upon himself the Name of the *Paraclet*, and that even in a grosser sense than ever *Montanus* had done, as the best Historians of his Life do justify. It is most probable that the *Cerinthians* of this Province having been here from the Days of the Apostles, and coming to their Declension about the Date of the Rise of *Montanism*, or soon after, did chiefly fall in with the *Proclians* of that Sect, and incorporate with them: But that the *Ebionites* who were here also in great numbers, did rather choose to unite with the *Æschinists*, on consideration of their Conformity with some of their Notions. Now there were also among the *Galatians* several other Sects or Sub-divisions, of this Enthusiastical Sect.

Sect. 9. For we hear particularly of the *Tascodrugites* among them in the Fourth and Fifth Centuries, who were a more superstitious sort of *Montanists* than the rest, that made themselves even ridiculous to the others, by their exceeding Niceties in the observance of certain little Rites and external Formalities; as for instance, when they were to put such a Finger into their Mouth, when to hold it to the Nose, and the like; for which we may be sure Inspiration was still pretended, as well as for other Matters of the most trivial Importance. These are they that by *Philastrius* are call'd *Ascodrogites*, whom he has put into the Catalogue of his Heretics, but of whom he gives us a very slender Account.

Account. We hear however of the *Artotyrite Montanists* in those Parts, and principally in the capital City of *Galatia*, which is *Ancyra*. They had a Custom, it seems, at their *Synaxes*, which they deriv'd from the *Jews*, of presenting the Fruits of the Earth upon the Altar, and offering them up to God for a Blessing: And accordingly they brought besides the Bread, which was to be consecrated for the use of the Eucharist, Cheese-Curds and Cream, or other Milk-Meats, as the Product of their Cattel; seeing that they generally counted it unlawful to feed upon their Flesh, as hath been observ'd. Now as this was observ'd of them by the Catholics, and as several Abuses doubtless crept in among them successively in their Feasts which follow'd after the Communion, and perhaps too in the very Communion it self, they came to have the Name of *Artotyrite* commonly fix'd to them, according to what hath been before hinted; thereby giving us emphatically to understand, that it did appear by their Actions as if they look'd upon the Lord's-Supper only as an ordinary Meal, and that they went to it as if they were going to sit down at a common Repose upon Bread and Cheese. There were also some other of the *Galatian Montanists* that are reported to have had a very odd and profane Custom, of bringing into their religious Assemblies a Leathern ^a Bottle blown up with Air, and of ^b dancing round about it with very uncomely Agitations, like unto Drunkards; after which they carry'd this Leathern Bottle up to the Altar, and having placed it with much Ceremony upon the same, they pour'd out the Sacramental Wine into it, using these words, *viz. Put ye therefore after this manner new Wine into new Bottles*. Indeed about the latter end of the Fourth Century

^a August. Hær. lxii.
To. I. B. II. c. 4. §. 55.

^b Arnold *Kirchenund-Ketur-Historie*.

Montanism had here split it self into so many lesser Sects, as *Galatia* grew famous for the number of its Heresies, and was taken much notice of for sending Colonies also into other Parts to pervert the Doctrine and Discipline of the Church, and introduce instead thereof their own Fancies and wild Innovations. And in the Fifth Century the same may be confirm'd by the Authority both of St. *Hierom* and St. *Augustin*.

Sect. 10. Moreover, that these could not be wholly extinct in the Sixth, though brought very low, we may very well suppose not only from the particular Heresies of that Age, which did symbolize in some Points with the *Montanists*, and might possibly also be branched out of them, whether in part or in the whole; but even from certain particular Opinions and Customs springing from the Leaven of the *Montanists*, which were about that Time receiv'd and establish'd by the Western Churches, that had impropriated to themselves the Title of Catholick; as for instance, The Doctrine of Infallibility in one particular Person, or more; of Celibacy in the Clergy, and Persons devoted to God; of Abstinence from certain Meats, if not always, yet at set Times; the Institution of the Monastick Discipline; the introduction of a multitude of Symbolical Gestures, Vestments and Actions; and lastly, a voluntary subjection to Demoniacal Spirits, or intermediate invisible Agents, by unwarranted addresses to Saints and Angels. All which might severally be traced from the Account here given of *Montanus* and of his Spirit: And though it be not pretended that these are all in themselves absolutely Evil, or in the same Degree; yet must it certainly be allow'd, upon the most impartial Scrutiny, that they make together a Burthen, when they are impos'd, much heavier than ever Christ and his Apostles did lay upon the first Christians, and do consequently fall in with
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the predominant Principle of *Montanism*. Nay farther, it might not be so very hard as at first it will appear strange, to shew how, in the succeeding Ages also down to this very Time, Popery (properly so call'd) hath from this Principle chiefly gain'd ground, and got it self establish'd so generally. The Lives of the Popes, the History of Councils, the Pretensions of one and the other, the Rules of the several Monastick Orders, their Mystical and Allegorical Divinity, with the Maxims, Inspirations and Miracles of their Saints, whether real or pretended, would here afford no unseasonable Reflections. And though it be false what the *Arians* pretended, That the Catholicks learnt the Doctrine of *Consubstantiality* from the *Montanists*; and there be not the least ground to suspect the *Lateran* Fathers of any secret Design to introduce the Mysteries of the *Pepuzenians*, when they establish'd *Transubstantiation*, whatever some may have started concerning the Original hereof; yet seems it pretty fairly accountable, how the Simplicity of the Gospel of Christ might by the *Western Christians*, more especially come to be very much lost by their sucking in of that Spirit unawares, a Spirit not easily to be distinguish'd, so it kept it self but within the Bounds of the Church; and how the greatest number of Impositions, both in Doctrine, Discipline and Worship, may at first have been introduc'd by an extravagant *Montanistical* Zeal in some pious (but indifferent) Persons, and then afterwards confirm'd. Thus then as *Montanism* fell in the East, it was in a great measure spirited up again in the West under another covering; and so strengthen'd it self by an usurp'd Ecclesiastical Authority, being as of far greater extent than that at *Pepusa*, so not very unlike it in Nature and Kind; the Supremacy of the Pontifical, or Patriarchal Power both at *Pepusa* and *Rome* being the same; and the *Cenons* of the former agreeing with

with the *Cardinals* of the latter, both in the constant attendance upon the High-Priest of their Religion, and pretended chief Vicar of Christ on Earth, and in their being exalted above the Episcopal Order.

Sect. 11. Nay, even among the *Eastern Christians* also this very Spirit, notwithstanding the double Excommunication pass'd against it, knew yet how to creep in unperceiv'd, and to infect the Churches that had cast it out. And thus the outward Form of *Montanism* did not vanish from among them without leaving the Ghost of it to haunt them under several Shapes. There were Relicks hereof, which appear'd in most of the *Eastern Heresies* of those Times, in the Disputes betwixt the *Nestorians* and the *Eutychians*, betwixt the *Severites* and the *Julianites*, or the *Phthortolatrae* who maintain'd the natural Corruptibility, and the *Aphthertodocitæ*, who declar'd for the natural Incorruptibility of Christ's Body, betwixt the *Malchites* and the *Jacobites*; and in several more curious than useful Questions, that did then disquiet the Minds of the Faithful, and might clearly be discern'd to have some Agreement with one of the Two chief Branches of *Montanism*. The Church of *Constantinople* it self then, when having taken the Name of *New Rome*, it contended for Supremacy with the *Old*, was for certain infected also from this very Quarter: Since it was a general Complaint there by the Orthodox, that all the Heresies which molested that Church had been transplanted thither out of *Galatia* and the neighboring Regions, where *Montanism* is known to have flourish'd in various Forms. And no wonder if it were not always discover'd to be what it was, when it had once branch'd forth it self into abundance of petty Sects, according as every ones Fancy was, or the Spirit which they pretended to did lead them, till at length they were led by it out of Christianity it self. So deplorable

plorable was the State of the Christian Churches in *Asia*.

Sect. 12. In *Africa* the *Montanists* had their Churches and their Bishops from about the beginning of the Third Century, as well as the Catholics. It doth not any wise appear, that they were here condemn'd by any Council, in such a solemn manner, as in *Asia*; but 'tis certain, that even in *Tertullian's* Time their Spirit complain'd of being ill treated in those Parts, by such as they call'd the Animal Christians: And this very Author ^a tells us, that even upon the score of their Innovation only in the matter of the Fasts and Penances, or the Reformation of Discipline without the ordinary Authority, they were charg'd with Heresy, and accordingly put under an Anathema. But notwithstanding this, in the Time of *St. Cyprian* there were yet certain Bishops, who, according to the Principles of *Montanus*, refus'd to receive Adulterers and Homicides to Penance, or give them the Absolution of the Church upon any terms; which Bishops still continued in Communion with the others that admitted them. Yet these might not be *Montanists* in other Points, as is most probable, but in all other matters perfectly conformable to the Customs of the Catholick Church; and generally they are so accounted to have been by learned Men, and that hence no Breach was made by them in the Unity. Indeed that great Man, Bishop *Pearson* ^b, is clearly of Opinion, that in *Africa* there were abundance of Persons holding the Fancies of *Montanus*, who continued nevertheless in the Church. And he speaks of it too as a matter certain, and well known. But on the other side, some ^c account this a very high Reflection upon the *African* Churches, that any engag'd in

^a De Jejun. c. 1. *Mont.* Art. XVI. p. 75.

^b De Ignat. To. 2. p. 95. ^c D. T. Les

the Errors and Enthusiasms of that Sect should not be driven out of their Communion. They urge that there is no sufficient Evidence for this from Antiquity, if any at all; and that 'tis not in the least probable that the Church of *Africa* should suffer in her Bosom, those which the Church of *Asia* had rejected. Be it as it will, this is undeniable, that the *Montanists* had for a long while a very considerable Interest in this part of the World; Nor is it so very unlikely, that variety of Circumstances might very much alter the State of Persons entangled in the same Error; or that Bishops truly Orthodox and Catholick might have certain Reasons to proceed otherwise in one Place, than their Brethren in another, with their Subjects when they are infected.

Sect. 13. Whether then the *African* Bishops thought themselves oblig'd to act with greater Tendernefs towards those of their Flock, who abhorred to make a Schism in the Church, and sincerely studied to preserve still the Catholick Communion, notwithstanding some particular Sentiments and Practices by them taken up, wherein also they might perhaps agree with some that were cast out of the Church elsewhere; than the *Asiatick* Bishops did towards those who behav'd themselves with more obstinacy and refractoriness, and openly trampled upon the Authority of the Church: Or whether these *Africans* did in like manner, and without any farther Process, exclude them totally from their Communion, by virtue of the determination of those they were in Unity with. This is certain, there were no such publick Contestations here as in *Asia*, and that the Writings both of *Proculus* and *Tertullian*, though they were *Africans*, and known to take the Party of *Montanus*, were so far from being here prohibited, that they were generally read with Esteem by those whose Orthodoxy was unsuspected. There are some Passages both in

Tertullian

Tertullian himself, and in the Account of *St. Cyprian* given us by *St. Hierom* from his *Amanuensis*, that put this last out of doubt. While therefore *St. Cyprian* was Bishop of *Carthage*, it doth not appear that there was much done with the *Montanists*, so they did but keep themselves within bounds, and not make a Separation from the Church. Yea, we do not find that he medled at all in this Controversy (though none was upon all other occasions a more strenuous asserter of the one Orthodox Communion) as thinking perhaps that it would sink of it self the more easily, by how much the less it was taken notice of; after having seen the Effects of the contrary Method, where that had been taken: And that where no actual Schism was already made, there was hopes of healing the Wound without running to extreme Courses; for that the affected Persons would probably grow by degrees cooler, so long as nothing was done farther to heat 'em and keep 'em in a Ferment, and whilst by continuing to frequent the Communion of the Church they might come to be better instructed, and set to rights. But then this Case did not extend to the Prophets or Prophetesses of *Montanus*, if there were any such in those Parts; for as much as these being visibly possessed with another Spirit than was that of the Catholick Church, it was impossible, upon Catholick Principles, to admit such to Communion. But as there were for certain Churches of the *Montanists* where these were not (at least after the Death of *Maximilla*;) so there is no account of any of them that were found in *Africa*, one Woman only excepted, that was known to *Tertullian*, and whom we must before this time suppose to be dead.

ARTICLE XVIII.

Of the appearance of Montanism under several other Forms.

Sect. 1. **T**H E R E are grounds to believe that a great many, and in *Africa* more particularly, did not dislike the Discipline of the *Montanists*, who yet could not be brought to have Faith in their Enthusiasms or pretended Inspirations: Of this number seems to have been *Novatus*, a Presbyter of the Church of *Carthage*, who being a Person of a severe and fiery Spirit, took Offence at the Lenity of the Catholick Discipline, and by the Obstinacy of his ungovernable Zeal, made a Schism in that Church against his Bishop and Metropolitan *St. Cyprian*, who inclin'd rather to pursue the more mild and gentle Methods for the restitution, of the Lapsed, so far as was consistent with the true ends of Discipline, than to cast such into despair, by exceeding the just Temperament, and so leaning towards the Rigours of the *Montanists* and *Encratites*. This *Novatus*, who was leaven'd not a little with their Principles, being disgusted at *Carthage*, posted away therefore to *Rome*, where he made a most strict Acquaintance with *Novatian*, a Presbyter of that Church, a Person Learned and Eloquent, but withal Ambitious; who, after that *Cornelius* was chosen Bishop of *Rome*, made a very strong Party against him, and protested against his Consecration as invalid, because he had receiv'd into Communion again some Persons who, through Fear, had committed Idolatry. For, according to the Discipline of the *Montanists*, he maintain'd with great Zeal, that the Communion was never to be granted to those who had fallen into the Crime of Idolatry: And hereupon he separated himself from

from *Cornelius*, and from as many as believ'd that it was in the Power of the Church to receive these with Penance. *Novatus*, that was just come out of *Africa* presently join'd him, and egg'd him on; and the most part of those that had been constant Sufferers for the Faith of Christ, and never had flinch'd in Persecution, with several also of the Priests adhering to him; the *Carthaginian* Priest is said to have put it into his head, how he might make himself Pope in the room of *Cornelius*, that was declar'd incapable, and so establish a more perfect Discipline in the Church. *Novatian* was easily prevail'd on to fall in with the Proposal, in which there appear'd no great difficulty; for as much as he was generally esteem'd and belov'd, and had but a little before been made choice of to write a Letter in the Name of the Clergy of *Rome*, to the Bishop and Clergy of *Carthage*; which is still extant among the Letters of St. *Cyprian*, and is esteem'd a valuable Piece. So by the Advice and Intrigues of *Novatus*, and under pretext of appeasing the Troubles and setting Matters again to rights, he sent for some of the *Italian* Bishops that living more remote, might appear to be wholly disinterested in this Quarrel; and manag'd the matter so as to get himself consecrated into the See of *Rome*, according to Form, by Three of those, as the immediate Successor of *Fabian*; for *Cornelius* was consider'd as an Usurper only. Presently after this he dispatch'd Letters to the Bishops of the other Provinces, to acquaint them with his Elevation to that See, and sent also Deputies into *Africa* that his Consecration might be there approv'd. But the *African* Bishops would not admit these Deputies, but declar'd themselves for *Cornelius*. With whom also the other Bishops soon join'd, and even one of those that had consecrated *Novatian* own'd his Fault, and submitted to do Penance for it. The Confessors made likewise their submission, having

been wrought upon so to do by the Authority of *St. Cyprian*; protesting yet, that though they had communicated with *Novatian*, they were all the while united in Heart with the Church, and were fully convinc'd, that as there was but one God, one Christ, and one Holy Ghost, so likewise there could be but one Bishop in one Church: And they writ to *St. Cyprian* to signify to him, that after mature deliberation, in consideration of the Peace and Benefit of the Church, forgetting all what had pass'd, and leaving Judgment to God, they were reconcil'd to *Cornelius*, to the Clergy, and to the whole Church of *Rome*. But *Novatian* continued still, without being mov'd hereby, or by his own Excommunication (wherein Threescore Bishops had join'd with *Cornelius*) to teach that the Church neither could, nor ought to receive into her Communion those that had once Apostatiz'd from her.

Seet. 2. And as this severity was pleasing to many Persons, and nothing was taught contrary to the Doctrine of the Catholick Church, but only a purer Rule of Discipline pretended to, he became the head of a Sect which continued for a long while to disturb the Church. At the same time *Novatus* was sent back by him to propagate the same in *Africa*, to the Churches whereof he created great Disturbance, in that *Montanus* had there sown the Seeds of his Discipline by *Tertullian*, and others. Wherefore not a few judging it unlawful, according to those Principles, to flee on any Pretence from Persecution, condemn'd the retreat of *St. Cyprian*, which he was commanded of God in a Vision to make, even in order to a more publick and glorious Confession. Of which number was one *Felicissimus*, a Deacon of his Church, who in the Absence of the Saint made a Faction against him on that occasion, and was the cause of very great Trouble both to the Church and him. On the same grounds also there were several then in Communion with the Church, who

who were not at all pleas'd with the Resolutions of the Council of *Carthage*, *An. CCLVII*, concerning the Penances of the Lapsed; though it allow'd not any that had either offer'd Incense, or eaten Meats offer'd to Idols, to be admitted to Communion but in extreme danger of Death; nor even then too where there had not been the Signs of Repentance before their falling Sick, and a Supplication to be put into the State of the Penitents. For all this was not yet severe enough, upon the Principles of *Montanus* and *Novatus*: And though Ecclesiasticks were for ever hereby depriv'd of all Office in the Church should they happen to recover, being reduc'd to mere lay Communion; yet did not this content those that were of an uneasy and fiery Spirit. And from all this it appears, that the Spirit of *Montanism* did actually enter into *Novatianism*; or that *Novatus* and *Novatian*, the one in *Africa*, the other in *Italy*, were both *Montanists* in the Point of Discipline at least.

Sect. 3. But it seems moreover, that *Novatian* was not a *Montanist* only as to Discipline, but also as to the Mysteries in Religion; and this whether with respect to the *Judaical*, or the Christian Dispensation, or rather a *Tertullianist*, to speak more strictly. 'Tis pretty plain he was an admirer of *Tertullian*, he study'd his Books, he also made Extracts out of them as he read, and then digested these for his Purpose; of which there is an instance given us by *St. Hierom*. But by the Event it appears he made a very different use hereof from what *St. Cyprian* had done, according to the different Views which each of them might have; the which it were easy to shew by particular instances in them both. Nor would it be difficult to date the first Seeds of *Novatianism* from the Time of *Tertullian's* being at *Rome*, and the Disgust which was given him there by some of the *Roman* Clergy; though there should be found to be very little or nothing

in that Charge against him of his aiming at the Pontificate, even as *Novatian* did afterward ; which has been by some suggested, as we before took notice. Some perhaps will be apt to surmise, that *Novatian* might have had a personal Acquaintance with him ; and so during his stay at *Rome*, have suck'd in certain Principles, that afterward led him into the Schism, whereof he was the reputed Head. But whether he was acquainted with *Tertullian* or no, seeing he must then have been but very Young, he may well enough at least have remember'd him : And 'tis not unlikely that some impressions may have been made pretty early upon him, either by this learned *African*, or by some of his Friends abiding at *Rome* ; whence also *Novatus* probably might have afterward so easy an access to him.

Sect. 4. *Novatian* then being a Disciple of *Tertullian*, and consequently of *Montanus*, though he was wise enough to drop their Enthusiasms and pretensions to extraordinary Revelations and Miracles, which had been so well baffled by several Catholick Writers ; yet adher'd to such other Tenets of theirs as were advanc'd for *Rules of Perfection*, in respect either to Discipline or Worship. And hence it might be, that some of his Writings crept in unperceived among those of *Tertullian*, and are indeed so like to those that are undoubtedly his, as it was no easy matter to distinguish them for a long while. His Book of the *Holy Trinity*, which was attributed very early both to *Tertullian* and to *St. Cyprian*, was by *St. Hierom* first discover'd to belong to him. And 'tis the same to all appearance which is even to this Day extant among the Works of *Tertullian*, being a part of an Abridgment of all what this Father had any where written upon that Subject brought into a better Style. The Book ascrib'd to *Tertullian*, of *Judaical Meats*, is another instance of this, which was written most probably by *Novatian*, under the Persecution of *Cellus* and *Volusianus*,

Volusianus, when he had made himself head of a Party; wherefore he thought fit to address it as in Form of a *Pastoral Letter* from a Bishop to his Flock; which can no wise agree to *Tertullian*, who never once pretended to that Dignity, and of whom it cannot certainly appear from any thing (at least) he himself has written, that he was even so much as a Priest, or more than a gifted Instructor among the *Montanists*. The Original upon which this seems to have been form'd, and which was seen by *St. Hierom*, and by him refer'd unto under the Title of *clean and unclean Animals*, not being preserv'd, no comparison can be made betwixt the one and the other: But by parity of Reason it may be concluded, that he herein also imitates his Author and follows his way of reasoning, according to the Principles of the *Proclian Montanists*, as who were more delighted with Mystical Interpretations than the *Æschinists*. The same Father also makes mention in his Letter to *Fabiola* of another Piece of *Tertullian*, which is lost, being his Book of the *Habits of Aaron*; the design whereof was no doubt prosecuted by *Novatian*, in his of the *High-Priest* after the same manner, and upon the very same Principles, or else it must have been but one and the same Treatise, which in *St. Hierom's* time did pass both under the Name of *Tertullian* and of *Novatian*. Nay, it farther appears from the same learned Father, that both these did write likewise a Treatise of *Circumcision*, as upon the same foot; which was to explain the Mystery of the internal and spiritual Circumcision, that had been hid from the *Jews* and revealed to the Christians. Accordingly in his Epistolary Treatise of *Judaical Meats*, *Novatian* himself makes mention both of this and another which he had written in the same Form, of the *Sabbath*; that is, of the Internal and Spiritual Sabbath, or the Quiet of the Soul, to which mystical Writers have given several Names; his design

being in this last to demonstrate, that as the literal *Jews* were wholly ignorant both of the true Circumcision and true Priesthood, so also of the true Sabbath; the Mystery whereof could only be known by the Mystical *Jew*, or the Christian, whom Christ by his Truth had enlighten'd in the Inward Man. Neither is there any doubt to be made, but his Discourse of the *Passover* was also grounded upon the same Bottom as the rest; which is call'd by him *the Spirit of the Law of Moses*. But here it must be observ'd, that notwithstanding the mystical Interpretations of Scripture which he gave, and wherein he and the first *Montanists* had apparently a good agreement together; he press'd yet with great earnestness the Observation of *Rules*, which, contrary to the practice of the *Gnosticks*, he declar'd to be no wise inconsistent with *Christian Liberty*; and in this also betwixt the *Montanists* and him there was an express accord. Neither would there have been herein betwixt the Catholics and him any difference, had he not extended these too far: which was in him a Fundamental Mistake, from whatever cause it might at first possibly arise, and was the occasion of all those Mischiefs that afterward befel the Church on his account.

5 Now of these *Rules* there are but Three that we can find, out of the slender Remains that we have of his History: The first of these is, that of not eating Meats offer'd to Idols, or against symbolizing in any manner with the Heathen Superstitions and Idolatries. This Rule we find in that Book^a of his about *Jewish Meats*; and we may well enough suppose that he extended it somewhat farther than *St. Paul* would have done. The second Rule is that of not fleeing in the time of Persecution, but of abiding constant to the Death. It seems this was the Subject of his Book concerning *Attalus*,

^a De lib. Judaic.

which is mention'd by St. *Hierom*, and intituled, *Of Constancy*, or Firmness: Which he very probably also copy'd from *Tertullian*, as *Tertullian* from *Montanus*. Had *Novatian's* Book been preserv'd we must needs have seen the Agreement betwixt them, for never could there be fairer Originals of this, than those of *Tertullian*; as namely, his Book *de Fuga*, with his *Exhortation to the Martyrs*, for him to draw after. The third Rule is that of perpetual Exclusion from the Church, of as many as should after Baptism have, either through Fear or Torture, been once overcome to deny Christ. And the ground of this was laid upon the Epistle to the *Hebrews*. The whole Conduct of *Novatian* bore Testimony to this last Rule, wherein it must be own'd that he plainly agreed with the *Montanists*. Who therefore may be charg'd in a great measure with the consequences of that Schism, as well as of their own, before it became so fruitful as to generate others; and indeed of all the Schisms or Heresies that have ever since been brought forth, as it were out of its Womb. This Account of the Rise of *Novatianism* as a Branch of *Montanism*, or as *Reform'd Montanism*, might be further corroborated, if need were, by several Observations drawn from the Writings of that Age; and particularly from the Characters of those that were chiefly infected therewith, and the Arguments that are made use of by the Catholick Apologists against these later Pretenders to a purer Discipline, and an higher Spirituality.

6. Now as *Novatianism* was a Branch of the *Proclian*, so was *Noetianism* of the *Æschinist Montanism*: For *Noetus* ^a, the Founder of this Sect, having been a Disciple of *Montanus*, but not being

^a Noetiani Hæretici à Noeto Afiano nomen adepti, discipulo ipso quoq; Montani. *Pap. H. E. de Her.* p. 240.

able well to digest his Doctrine *according to Proclus*, as being too mysterious for him, thought it most reasonable to take the Party of *Æschines*, whom he could better understand. And as he was of a most ambitious Spirit, he could not forbear setting up himself for some great Prophet and Lawgiver sent from God, in order to reform the World, and renew the State of the Church; thinking by this means to make himself considerable. And herein he was assisted by a Brother of his, that was appointed by him for *his* Interpreter to the People, in like manner as he was to pass for *God's* Interpreter: So under this Character he took upon himself the Name of *Moses*, or rather pretended that it was given him of God; and gave to his Brother that of *Aaron*. Then did this new *Moses* and *Aaron* gather to themselves many, that for a while believed in them, hearkning to their great Pretensions; but among their Disciples there were none found more considerable than *Cleomenes* and *Callistus*, whom they therefore pitch'd upon for their Successors, having first fully instructed them in the Mystery of their pretended Mission from Above. Now they had taught their Disciples, as the Fundamental Doctrine of their Society, that there was only one Divine Person in the Godhead, which according to different Relations was both Father, Son and Holy Ghost: and that this one Person was both Visible and Invisible, Mortal and Immortal, Passible and Impassible. In Heaven they call'd him God the *Father*; in Earth they call'd him the *Son*; and in the Powers of the Creature the *Spirit*. Again, they said he was in Heaven Impassible, Invisible and Immortal; but on the Earth Visible, Passible and Mortal. Moreover, they said that this one Person was in Heaven *God*, and in Earth *Man*. They seem to have been for introducing a sort of *Judaical* Theocracy, that so this second *Moses* might be

be in all things like to the First, but only Superior to him. They are thought to have kept some Correspondence with the *Helcesaites*, a Branch of the later *Montanists*, who arose up either at the same time with them, or presently after. The Church of *Smyrna* was chiefly afflicted with them, and the City, whose Inhabitants had so blindly and earnestly ran after this pretended *Moses*, was not many Years after visited with an Earthquake, wherewith it was terribly shaken, and a great part of it swallow'd up or desolated. This by some was interpreted as a Judgment upon the Place, for their so greedily sucking in the Poison of this Pretender, and for departing from their Primitive Fervour and Constancy, which in the Days of St. *John* render'd the Church hereof so approv'd in the Eyes of Christ, as he had nothing to reprove her Angel for. It was about the Year CCXXV when this *Noetus* set up his School in *Smyrna*, of which he was a Native, and held his Schismatical Assemblies. Though there were many that apostatiz'd to him, whom he had bewitch'd with his fine smooth Pretences; yet on the other side there were a great many, and they the best and most considerable, that persisted stedfast in the Faith they had receiv'd from St. *John*, and condemn'd this false Prophet; who liv'd long enough to see himself disappointed in his big expectations of being as another *Moses* to the Church: And in his Death he was abhor'd, and after his Death his Body was cast out as an Abomination, the Burial of an Ass being deem'd good enough for him. So very unlike was both his *Death* and *Burial* to that of the true *Moses*, even no less than his *Life*. However, his Heresy dy'd not with him.

7 For *Sabellius* ^a, a Disciple of *Noetus*, not to

^a Epiph. Hær. 62. Hilar. de Trinit. l. 2. Basil. Ep. 64.

mention here *Cleomenes* and *Callistus*, soon stood up in his Master's room, and made himself even more famous than him; so that the Heresy of *Noetus* came ever afterward to be known by the Name of *Sabellianism*. And thus also it came, that the *Montanists* were by a great many taken to be *Sabellians*; whereas the truth is, the *Sabellians* were but a Branch descended from one Party of the *Montanists*. Hence the *Sabellians* ought rather to be call'd *Montanists*, than on the contrary; though they were but *Montanists* in the *Fourth* Generation: For *Æschinism* begat *Noetianism*, and *Noetianism* begat *Sabellianism*, and *Æschinism* was no other than *Praxeanism*, or a sort of bastard Off-spring of *Montanus* by *Praxeas*. This was the Pedegree of *Sabellianism*, which has lasted to this very Day, and made for some time so great a stir in the Church. As for *Sabellius* himself, there was nothing found to be objected against him, but his declaring for the *Noetian Principles*; for he was not concern'd in the *Fanaticism* of his Master, and had nothing to say for it. He was a Person, it seems, of a clear Reputation, and of good Parts, and had an easy way of explaining his Notions to set them off; which he did very much by familiar Comparisons. Thus he compar'd, for instance, ^b the Father to the Substance of the Sun, the Son to the Light of it, and the Holy Ghost to the Heat of it. Again, he compar'd the Trinity with the Body, Soul and Spirit in Man. He was of *Pentapolis*, and rose up presently after the Persecution of *Decius*. *Cleomenes* and *Callistus* at the same time, or even somewhat before, propagated the Spirit and Doctrine of their Master in *Asia*, succeeding in his School: And *Paulus Samosatenus* within a little while after-

* Basil. Hom. 27. contr. Sabell.

ward appear'd at *Antioch*, as springing from the same Root.

8 And as *Noetianism*, which was the Off-spring of the *Æschinist Montanism*, was continued in *Sabellianism*; so was *Novatianism*, descended from the *Proclian*, in like manner continued down in *Donatism*. For notwithstanding that this Schism was so strenuously oppos'd by St. *Cyprian* of *Carthage* and St. *Denis* of *Alexandria*, with *Cornelius* of *Rome*, it could not be extinguish'd; but while it lost ground in one Place it got again in another; and so at length it pass'd over, as a learned ^a *Calvinist* freely acknowledges, into *Donatism*; and became thence forward one with it. The History of this Schism, as under this second Denomination, is to be had at large in the Six Books of *Optatus*, against *Parmenian* a Ring-leader of the Sect (for the *Seventh* is by Criticks allow'd not to be his) and in the Life of *Constantine* by the Ecclesiastical Writers: And having been written also ^b in *English*, with a particular application to our Times, and the Case of the *English* Separatists, nothing need here be said of it further: Only we can but take a little notice, that the *Donatists* were so far from being *Sabellians*, that they inclin'd rather somewhat to the *Arians*, as deriving their Pedigree not from the *Æschinist*, but the *Proclian* Order of *Montanism*, and especially from the *Tertullianists*: And that as the Catholics Re-baptiz'd the *Montanists*, so the *Donatists* Re-baptiz'd the Catholics: Yea the *Donatists* are sometimes actually confounded with the *Montanists*, as it appears from *Baronius*; and to this did visibly contribute the giving the Name of

^a Duraturum tamen Schisma fuit, & in Donatismum abiturum. Spanh. *Isag. ad Hist. N. T.* Sect. 3. n. 8.

^b History of Donatism by Mr. Long. 8°.

Montani or *Montenses* to them in *Italy*, as of *Parmentiani* in *Africa*. Whether this might not proceed from their having a kindness for the Name of *Montanus*, as much, or more than from their manner of Living, I shall not undertake to determine; but 'tis certain they had a very good Interest at *Rome*, as well as *Montanus* had in the beginning.

9 But to return to our *Æschinists*, how considerable soever they were counted in comparison with the *Proclians*, it is evident that some of their Successors did no wise fall short of these, or of any that branched from them. The *Nestorians* for certain were a very considerable Body; but they would never have been so considerable, had they not built upon *Æschinist* Principles. When *Borchardus* wrote his Description of the *Holy-Land* they were then thought by some to be full as many, if not more than the whole Western Church, and that their Patriarch in the East, call'd *Jacelich*, had as large a Jurisdiction as the Pope: Nay, one has been so bold as to pretend to *demonstrate*, that they are at this time no less than *five* times superior in their Number to the entire Body of the *Roman* Church. And however he is mistaken not a little, there can be no doubt but that they have been, and are even still a Body prodigiously great, if compar'd with the little diminutive Sects which make such a noise in these parts of the World. The occasion of this great Division is known to have been from one *Anastasius* a Presbyter, who could not bear to have the *Virgin Mary* call'd the *Mother of God*; but thought it enough to have her call'd the *Mother of Christ*. The Bishop of *Constantinople*, who was *Nestorius*, having determin'd in favour of *Anastasius*, it was infer'd that his determination was contrary to the Council of *Nice*, in that *Christ* must be hence born of the *Virgin*, but not *God*, or the *Son of God*:

God: Whereupon he was oblig'd to explain his Sense, which he did, by declaring how he conceiv'd the *manner of the Union* of God and Man in Christ; and this he did by making Christ to be rather Θεοφóρ@ than Θεάνθρωπ@, a Man bearing God, or filled with God, than a God-Man. So that the main Point wherein his Heterodoxy did consist was this, ^a That the Man born of the *Virgin Mary* was not *born God*, but that God was afterwards united to him and dwelt in him, and so he became the *Tabernacle of God* upon Earth. Wherein he certainly went upon *Æschinist* and *Noetian* Principles; for that he was a Friend to the *Arians* there is no manner of Proof, whatever some may say out of Prejudice against him: For on the contrary it appears from *Socrates* ^b, that he had a design to raze the Churches of the *Arians*. And *Evagrius* ^c relates, That *Nestorius* utter'd blasphemies against Christ, teaching that he was a mere Man; which upon *Arian* Principles he could never have done. Add to this, that in the Council of *Ephesus*, where he was condemn'd, he oppos'd not only the Catholics but the *Arians* also, even as many as asserted Christ to be born a God ^d: And that it was the Opinion of very many from the first, that he was studying to introduce the Opinion of *Paulus Samosatenus* into the Church. ^e From all which, and from the canonizing of this *Paulus*, with others of the same Rank, by the later *Nestorians*, it may fairly be presum'd, that there was a great deal too much of the Spirit of the *Montanist* *Æschines* in all this.

10 Yet that the *Proclian Montanism* might fall no wise short of the other, there was conjur'd up

^a Ambros. de Incarn. Verb. c. 6. Cassian. de Incarn. Verb. l. i.
^b Hist. Eccl. l. vii. 29, 31. ^c Evagr. l. i. 4. ^d Socr. Hist. Eccl. l. vii. 33. ^e 32.

another Spirit out of *Persia* to join with it: This was the Spirit of *Manicheism* that join'd it self with that of *Montanism*, and fortify'd it self by it, making use of many of the *Apocryphal* Revelations of the *Montanist* Prophets, and other supposititious Scriptures, to confirm their Notions. But they chiefly built upon the Writings of that *Leucius Corinus* of the *Proclian* School, that has been already mention'd (*Art. XIV.*) which mightily contributed to the Establishment and Propagation of *Manicheism* thus mixt. This *Leucius*, who is otherwise call'd *Seleucus*, was a spiritual Father to many of the better sort of them, or an Arch-priest and Prophet, having under his inspection the Candidates for the Prophetical Order, or Sons of the Prophets, who boasted that they were *illuminated* by his means: Which illumination of his was the Introduction of them into the very Principles of *Manicheism*, that is, of what was afterwards so called; and the Transplantation of the *Zoroastrian* Theology, or a good part of it into the Mysteries of the Christian Religion. Now after that he had laid the Foundation, and brought together Materials under the great and venerable Names of the Apostles, *Manes* arose with as high Pretences as ever *Montanus* did, if not even higher.

For if *Montanus* was honour'd by his Followers as the *Paraclet* that was to come, or as the Representative of him at least, 'tis no less certain that *Manes* set himself up also for a *Paraclet*, or for the Spirit and Power of God in the Flesh, and suffer'd his Disciples to honour him according to that Quality. Yea, it is known that he called *Twelve Apostles*, as Christ had done, whom he appointed in like manner that they should go forth and minister in his Name, as the *Paraclet* that was sent into the World, to convince all Mankind not only of *Sin*, but also of *Righteousness* and *Judgment*, by a new and more perfect Law than ever yet had been

been given. To these Apostles of his he gave the very Names of the Twelve Apostles of Christ, promising that in like manner they should sit upon Twelve Thrones, to judge the World, and that they should go forth in greater Power than the first Twelve had done, as brought up now into an higher dispensation than they. He made them moreover believe that he, by the Power of the Holy Ghost dwelling bodily in him, had elected them out of the World to communicate unto them the Treasures of Divine Wisdom, and that they were to be led by him into *all* Truth, even secret and hidden Truth; and should have the Mysteries of the Kingdom, which were wholly unintelligible to others, clearly manifested to them. And since he was properly call'd an *Anti-christ*^a, in the same sense that *Simon Magus* was an *Anti-christ*, or that *Dositheus* and *Menander* were *Anti-christs*; as pretending to the same Πλήρωμα, or Fulness and Original Power of the Divine Δόξα, as was in Jesus Christ; whence he appropriated to himself the Title of Ἄλλος Παράκλητος, i. e. *another Paraclete* or Comforter (*John* xiv. 16.) and so set himself up as one in all Things like unto him; as being not only Partaker of, but even filled with that very Fulness which was in him, and whereof he did communicate first to his Apostles, and then to the rest of his Disciples. Now the ground of this, and of all the *Primitive Anti-christs*, as well as of the *Modern* also, appears to have been a certain Notion of the Transmigration^b of the Δόξα Ἀρχαῖος, which was by them suppos'd to constitute a *Christ* no less than of the Δόξα Μεσσίας, which was suppos'd to constitute a *Prophet* or an *Apostle*. *Manes* therefore out-strip'd *Montanus*, who never once presum'd to

^a Μαθηταὶ ὅ τε τὸν ἌΝΤΙΧΡΙΣΤΟΝ Μάνητον γέγονασι Διδασκα. Petr. Sicul. Hist. Manich. p. 30. Ed. Roder.

^b Vid. Dodwel. Dissert. in Iren. II. S. 34, 35.

act Christ after such a manner, and who 'tis plain proceeded on quite another ground than this; so that though *Montanus* might be call'd a *false Apostle* or a *false Prophet*, he ought not yet to be call'd a *false Christ* or an *Antichrist*. Now as Christ had call'd himself the *Bread that came down from Heaven*, so it seems also that *Manes*, who by virtue of the aforefaid Transmigration, thought he might lawfully pretend to the same Titles and Appellations as *He*, would give out himself for the *spiritual Food* of his Disciples, and make them believe that he could pour into them the delicacies of Heaven, the sweet Consolations of the Spirit, which should be as *Manna* to the Taste. And hence his Disciples that were of the ^a *Greeks*, they tell us, chang'd his Name from *Manes*, which in their Tongue had but a bad signification, as approaching to *Μανία*, i. e. *Madness*, into that of *Μαννίχης*, *Mannicheus* (*Discipulis suis erat fundens Manna*. *Mannicheus* *Ant. Prædest. c. 46.*) one whose Words were all Honey and Manna. Whereas also Christ said ^b *I am the Bread of Life and the living Bread*. It is reported of *Manes* that he went even farther, and gave part of himself to be *literally* fed upon, and even that wherein he conceiv'd the *Life* chiefly to consist, or to be concenter'd in it: And nothing sure can be more detestable than his magical Rite of preparing, in order to this the Bread for his Sacrament, by sowing his Seed into the Flower whereof the said Bread was to be made, that so it might be called *his Body* thereby, more than in a Figure. How incredible soever this may appear, there is nothing so extravagant or so abominable, which Enthusiasm and Superstition have not led into, or may not lead again into. And the Matter

^a In Græcia Discipuli non Manetem, ἀπὸ τῆς μανίας, sed Μαννίχην, ἀπὸ τῆς χέαν μαννα, vocabant. Beyerl. p. 20.

^b John vi. 35, 48, 51.

as to the main is indeed so well vouch'd by capable Witnesses, and by one among the rest that was no less than nine Years a Member of his Church: And there are such instances of a much fresher Date as might be given of a nature not much unlike this, as there will be found nothing so very improbable in it, if we allow that he was a Magician (as it is generally agreed) and was possessed of a Spirit, as *Montanus* was, but of a worse kind. But not to insist hereupon, since even his Disciples could not for certain agree about this Custom, some rejecting, but others embracing it, we will pass to what is more clear and uncontested; that so we may be better able to compare the Spirit of *Manicheism* and *Montanism* together.

The true Name then of *Manes* was *Cubricus*, or (as *St. Austin* has it) *Urbicus*; and his Rise was after this manner. There was of the *Alexandrian* School a certain *Arabian* Philosopher, who led a retir'd and ascetical Life, being a Man of Learning, but who had no knowledge either of the Jewish or Christian Religion; who wrote Four Books^a, the first of which he called his *Gospel* (but which contain'd nothing of Christ;) the second his *Capitula*, being the Rules and Orders of his Philosophy; the Third was his Book of *Mysteries*, and the Fourth was his Book of *Treasures*. Having a design to propagate his Doctrine in *Judaea* he was disappointed by Death, and so bequeathing his Books to one *Terebinthus* his Disciple, he left him to execute what he had but design'd. *Terebinthus*, after his Master's Death, accordingly travell'd into *Judaea*, where he learnt something of the Religion both of the *Jews* and Christians; but as he was beginning to propagate there the Doctrine contain'd in those Books, he was not able to proceed for the opposition he met with: And so he fled into *Persia*,

^a Cyril. Catech. 6.

thinking to find among the *Magi*, a better Reception; but the Priests of *Mithra* there also oppos'd him, and in Disputation had the better of him: Whereupon he thought fit to retire, and changing his Name, that he might not (they say) be known, from *Terebinthus* to *Buddas* [or *Buddin*] though this be indeed no more than the Interpretation of that in the *Persian* Tongue; he associated with a certain *Persian* Woman, who was a Widow, but was childless, and almost despairing of Children had bought this *Cubricus*, who was then a very promising Boy, with a design to adopt him for her Son, in case she had none by *Buddas*. So *Cubricus* was under the instruction of *Buddas*, who found him a very apt Scholar. But it was not long before *Buddas* going up to walk on the Roof of his House, and there (after certain Ceremonies us'd) making an attempt to fly in the Air, by the help of the Aerial *Demons* whom he called upon, fell down and dash'd out his Brains. Such was his end, while he pretended to work Miracles, as his Master had done before him, and thereby to set himself up for somewhat more than Man. The young *Cubricus* came by this means to inherit both the Opinions and the Books of this *Alexandrian* Magician; and his Foster-Mother took care that he should be educated in all the Learning of *Persia*, as he had before been initiated by *Buddas* in that of *Egypt*. But being observ'd also to have a particular Genius for Painting and Sculpture, he was encourag'd to apply himself to it, and in a little time he became so famous in the first of these, as to be call'd by way of Eminence, *the Painter*. Whence the Name of *Manes* ever afterward stuck to him, the Name for a *Painter* being in the *Persian* Tongue *Mâni*. Now that he might the better set off his Doctrines, and recommend not only the Gospel of *Scythianus*, with the other curious Books that he had left to him, but also all that he had any wise learnt either of the secret Sciences of the

Persians or of the *Egyptians*; his Custom was finely to adorn all with most curious lively Drawings, and surprizing and beautiful Hieroglyphicks. And having compil'd the Doctrine of the Secret Books, and of the Traditions of his Master into one Volume, he richly illuminated it, and embelish'd it with Pictures of various kinds; which he call'd in the *Persian* Language *Ertchengh* or *Ertengh*, and by abbreviation *Tengh*. And because this Picture Book of *Manes* was call'd *Tengh*, therefore also afterward all the Books of Pictures by the most excellent Hands; as particularly of the *Grecian* Masters, and among the rest of *Zeuxis* himself, were call'd by the same Name as the *Tengh* of *Zeuxis*, and the like. Now he pretended that he had receiv'd the Gift of Painting by immediate Inspiration, and therefore in those Parts where he liv'd they say to this Day, that this was the true beginning of his setting up to be divinely inspir'd: For, as if there was as near a relation betwixt Painters and Prophets, as there is said to be betwixt Painters and Poets: They say, that from his surpassing all others in this Art he grew so very proud as he would needs also pass for a Prophet. And he despaired not but he might come to be esteem'd as a great Prophet as he was a Painter. Now an occasion for this thus presented it self; he had heard of the Miracles which Jesus Christ had wrought both by himself and his Apostles; and he had heard also that he had given himself the Name of a *Paraclet*, and had withal at the same time promis'd that another *Paraclet* should be sent in his Name; who should not only do as great, but even greater Works than he had done. Hereupon he strait

* Cum esset professione Pictor, impiorum Dogmatum suorum librum (ut speciosior appareret oculis; & eo nomine multo gratior esset) eleganter qua potuit depinxit, & varii generis Picturis ornavit & decoravit. *Hyde Hist. Relig. Vet. Pers. c. 21.*

flatter'd himself that he, by his Skill in all the Wisdom of the *Egyptians* and of the *Persians*, might arrive to be this great *Paraclet* and wonderful Prophet, that had been predicted to work such mighty Miracles: But at the same time it happen'd that there was another that entertain'd as high Thoughts of himself as the *Painter* could, and gave himself out for the great Power of God. This was *Shabur* the Son of *Ardesbir*, that contended with him, but prevailed not against him. And when *Shabur* sought to slay him, for that he could not bear that any should be thought equal to himself in the Prophetical Spirit, he fled into *Turkistan*, where he drew after him great Numbers. And finding here a Cave in which was a Fountain of excellent Water, he got Provisions in hither by Stealth, that might be enough to suffice him for a whole Twelvemonth. Then he pretended to his Followers that he was to ascend up into Heaven, but that after the space of one Year he would descend to them again. So withdrawing himself from them, while they were in a profound Amazement, he went and hid himself in this Cave in the Mountain; and there he abode for the appointed time: Which being expir'd, he again appear'd as he had promised, and brought along with him those wonderful Tables adorn'd with all that Art could invent, which are commonly call'd *ERTENGH-MANI*, or, the Pictures of *Manes*; being the same that were before mention'd. These were Pieces so exquisitely perform'd, as he obtain'd thereby his end; for he ravish'd herewith almost as many as beheld them, so that they could not forbear saying, It was more than the Finger of Man. And he affirming with great Solemnity that he had received them from Heaven, and that they were not his Work, but the Work of God; very many believed in him, and became his Disciples. But after this he made haste to go into *Persia* again, fearing perhaps lest he might
be

be here discover'd, if he continued much longer. And being return'd into *Persia* he went immediately to the King thereof, whose Name was *Behram*, and shewing him the Book of the Tables, which he said he had received from Heaven, he invited him to embrace his Religion. The King was exceedingly surpriz'd and pleas'd, and was one of the first that was perverted by him, and made to believe that he was that great Prophet and *Paraclet* he pretended to be; and with the King not a few also of the Courtiers believed in him, or made a shew at least, of embracing the Religion of their Prince. And when he had got a great number of Followers, by the King's Interest and Favour, the *Persian Magi* and Priests hereupon grew very uneasy, so the King thought fit to order that a Disputation should be held betwixt them and *Manes*; who having the King on his side, did not much fear the success; yet how he came off we are not told. But soon after the King's Son fell sick, and he undertook to cure him by his Prayers; and the King having Faith in him, and greedy to see a Miracle wrought, committed his Son and the Hope of his Kingdom, to this pretended *Paraclet*; under whose Hands he died, and not without a suspicion of being murther'd by some of those Spirits he was thought too familiar with: Whereupon he was cast into Prison and commanded to be put to Death; but some way or other finding means to escape out of Prison he fled into *Mesopotamia*, where proceeding as before to propagate his Religion, and taking upon him to be *in the Form and Person* of Christ, *Archelaus* the Bishop, disputed with him, and confounded him. Whereupon being not able to stay here any longer, he took his flight again and went back into *Persia*, where disguising himself he endeavour'd to lie conceal'd; but the great Men of that Court having some suspicion hereof, made a diligent inquisition after him, and so at last apprehend-

apprehended him. Being now taken, Sentence was pronounc'd upon him by the King, that he should be crucified in the Great Gate of the City, even his Capital City, and that he should be flea'd while he was yet alive, and his Skin stuff'd with Chaff and kept. And for a long while after they say his Skin so stuff'd was to be seen in *Persopolis*. Also at, or about the same time all throughout the Kingdom, whom he had bewitch'd to believe him, and follow his Religion, were by the command of the King *Behram* put to Death: And then the King was at rest, and the fire of his Indignation (saith *Chandemir*) was quench'd. Nevertheless his Sect did, after this, mightily spread; and the Day upon which he suffer'd was kept as an high Holy Day among his Disciples, they accounting it no less than the Day of his Translation. Wherefore the *Grecians* that adher'd to him call'd this Day *Βῆμα*, upon which they plac'd in the Church an high Seat or Throne, known commonly by that Name; to which they went up by Steps: And this they cover'd with rich Clothes curiously embroider'd, not without various Decorations, as it was their manner upon such solemn and Festival Occasions. Thus it seems that both Musick and Painting came to be in very great esteem among them; for as much as they were perswaded by their Master that they were really the Gift of the Holy Ghost: For he was an excellent *Musician*, they say, as well as a *Painter*; and both by Inspiration. And he is to this very Day believ'd in *Persia* to have been the Invention of a certain Musical Instrument that they call *Oud*; as do likewise the *Arabians*; and is a sort of *Lute*, which he probably us'd to invite the Spirit or *Demon* to come upon him; that he by his Art had render'd familiar to him. Besides, it appears that he was skill'd in the *Orphean* Magick, in which Musick always made a part: And hence as he was both *Painter* and *Musician*, we may

may well think that he was a *Poet* also, if we consider the Genius of the Man, or the System of his Thoughts, or the common manner of Delivery of such sort of Secret Knowledge and Wisdom as he pretended to among the *Eastern Nations*. And for as much as his Disciples rejected the Use of *David's Psalms*, from the Principles of his pretended Revelation, there was a necessity for him to introduce a Psalmody of his own: And for the same reason that the *Valentinians* did in their Publick Worship use the Hymns of their Master, the *Manichees* being superstructed upon the same Magical Foundation with them, must have commonly sung the Hymns of their Founder, which he had composed to his Lute. In which Hymns doubtless it was, rather than in any set Doctrinal Discourse, he compar'd the Sun and the Moon to *two Ships* for the Transportation of separated Souls in their Ascent to the superior Paradise, which has not been hitherto taken notice of as I know, by any that have given an account of his Opinions; and hence no wonder it is, that some Poetical Representations or Fictions, have been mistaken for his real Sentiments. He was both an Astronomer and an Astrologer; this being a great part of the Learning of the East, in which he was certainly conversant; and was far from being so ignorant and stupid as many do imagine, and that justly too, if the confus'd Accounts that are given of him and his Doctrines might fully be depended upon. He was not a Stranger to the Language of Hieroglyphicks, to the Musick of the *Orphean Harp*, or to the Style of the Magical Poets and their Metamorphoses; and in one word, may be said to have been a *Poetical Philosopher*. Hence besides his *Tengh*, which was no less *Philosophical* than *Theological*, he wrote likewise, according to *Ibn Shahna*, a Book of *Philosophy*, which he translated into the *Persian*, but tells us not in what Language it was originally written; probably

probably it was either in the *Aegyptian* or the *Babylonian*, but I most incline to the latter: Wherefore he is call'd by the *Arabian* Writers *Manes the Philosopher*. To all which Qualifications this one farther is to be added, that he was properly what they call *Dæmoniacus Natura*; such as most of the Founders of Empires and of Sects have been, and which we want Words in our Language to express. This Demoniacal Constitution is somewhat beside, or beyond what is ordinary in Human Nature, and such a Person as has it, if he be Fortunate, we call a *Genius* or an *Hero*; but if he be otherwise a *Lunatick* perhaps, or an *Epileptick*; and several other Names there are which we give him in this last Case, according to some difference of Circumstances, as a Person *Double-sighted*, a *Visionary*, and a *Natural Enthusiast*. If he be partly Fortunate and partly Unfortunate, we have then other Names for him; or we characterize him according as we are prejudiced for, or against the Person; but we have no manner of Word which can here convey an Idea that is proportion'd to the Subject. *Manes* was naturally for certain of such a Constitution or Disposition, in whom there was, according to the *Chaldean* Phrase, ^a *the Spirit of the Gods*; He was one after Nature of an excellent Spirit or Genius, and what we call a *masterly Wit*; but which was sometimes accompany'd with extravagant Sallies. Nothing that is related of all the *Grecian* or *Italian* Painters, can come up to what is said of his exactness in Proportion, without the assistance herein of Art; particularly to his drawing a Line even of several Yards, with the help only of his naked Eye, according to all the Mathematical Accuracy that could be requir'd with the assistance of Rule and Compass. No wonder then is it, that his Conversation was so accepted that he had so easy admission

^a Dan. iv. 8, 9.

into the Courts of Princes, that he was so admir'd and courted by Persons of all Parts, and that his Sentiments consequently so soon and so far spread themselves, notwithstanding some great Disappointments; as particularly, that about the *Persian King's Son*. To conclude, He was a Master in Picture, Sculpture and Musick; and at the same time a Poet and a Philosopher, an Orator and a Divine, an Astrologer and a Magician: And he had a Reach that was able to reconcile the greatest Extreams; so that he was at once both an *Epicurean* and a *Pythagorean* in his way of Philosophizing; and while he out-went the very *Pharisees* themselves in his *Apocryphal* Traditions and Revelations, merited yet to go by the Name of *Manes the Sadducee*. Indeed he seems to have been, all things consider'd, a Prodigy in Nature.

But to return to his Religion, and the Parallel of it design'd:

2 The Doctrine of the *Manichees* consisted chiefly in these Points. 1. That God is a Being *infinitely extended*, and comprehending all Things; by whom, and out of whom, all Things are made; the Light, the Life, and the Essence of whatever is or can be, Visible and Invisible: So that all Things are real Parts of God, existing in him and out of him. 2. That there are yet *two Principles* from all Eternity, the one of Good the other of Evil; and the World as a *Third* (or mix'd) Principle, compounded out of both: Or, that the Darkness is Co-eternal with the Light, and Matter with Spirit, and enters into the Composition of every Thing. 3. That there are *two Souls* in every Man, the one from the Good, the other from the Evil Principle; and that these with the Body do constitute in Man a lesser, as the two infinite eternal Principles with the World do constitute a greater Ternary. 4. That the good Soul may *converse* with Good Spirits, out of the Good Principle, and the Evil Soul with Evil Spirits,

Spirits, out of the Evil Principle: And according to the Pre-dominion of either, so may *Revelations* be obtain'd from each of these. 5. That the Good Soul which is created out of the Light, and is a part of God, is the *Light within*; which is capable of communicating with the Infinite Light, and of being made Wise and Happy by it, but that the Evil and Adventitious Soul which is out of the Darknefs, and is a part of the Evil Principle (which they call *Saclam* and *Hyle*) is with respect to the former the *Outer-Darknefs*, which God made not, but which always existed with him; and that this *dark Soul* which they made to be *Material*, can never in all Eternity be admitted into the Inheritance of the other *in Light*. 6. That hence also the *Body*, as created out of the same Principle, can never enter into the Kingdom of God, but must pass away into the Elements which compounded it, in order to some New Revolution: And consequently there is to be expected *no Resurrection* of the Body. 7. That the two eternal Principles being alike extended throughout all Things, there is an eternal War betwixt them in Nature; and there is a Portion of the Divine Being in every Creature, even of the very *lowest* Class, which is to be *separated* from the adventitious Darknefs, Veil or Covering. 8. That the World is one great *Animal*, and that there is nothing dieth therein; but is only changed: And more particularly, that all and every part under every Transmutation, still liveth unto one or other (if not both) of these eternal Principles; and that all Things that exist *in rerum Natura*, have *Life* and *Sense* inseparable from them. 9. That there are Spirits both in the Good and in the Evil Principle of various Orders and Degrees, *eternally* existing in and flowing from their proper Principle or Matrix, that have each of them their several *Kingdoms* appropriated to them. 10. That among these latter there are some that are properly *material Demons*,

Demons, being principally generated out of the *dark Hyle* or Seed of *Arimanius*; and that all Matter having Life in it self may be made capable of Cogitation, and so of becoming *Demoniacal*. 11. That there are no Spirits that are strictly and properly *immaterial*, but that they have all, more or less, of a Light or Dark Materiality: Yea, that even the Supreme Light it self, the Fountain of all the better Spirits, is not to be conceiv'd without somewhat of a Body to it. And hence, 12. That Matter and Necessity being inseparable, there can be no such thing as *perfect Liberty* in any Spirit whatever; and that Fate doth govern all, and all Things are done by Fate, according to the eternal *Predestination* in God, with respect to the said contrary Principles. 13. That *Sin*, in particular, is necessary, with all the consequents of it; that it is also a Substance, not an Accident; and inevitably flows forth from the Evil Principle which enters into our Constitution, and makes a part of it. Whence *Original Sin* must be the Evil Substance which they suppose to be in the dark Soul, and to constitute its Nature. 14. That there is a natural and inherent Impurity in the *Flesh* of every Creature, which is therefore to be abstained from by all that would be *Perfect* or *Pneumatical*; and that certain Creatures, partaking more of the Evil Principle than others, are for the same reason to be likewise wholly abstain'd from, as particularly, *Wine*. 15. That the Light-Soul of Man is polluted by *Marriage*, and obscur'd by all Carnal Communion. That the State of Matrimony may nevertheless be permitted to them that are in a lower and more imperfect Degree, having been introduced with the Evil Principle which yet predominates in them; but that it is by no means to be allow'd in them that are called up to be of the number of their *Electi* or the Spiritual. 16. That this Light-Soul is of the same Person and Substance with God, Life of his Life and Light of his Light,

Pars molis Divinae, a part of his very Essence, and *Consubstantial* with him from before all Time, of an Infinite Nature, without Beginning and without Ending, and may be called the *Son of God*: But that by the order of Fate, it is made to pass thro' several Revolutions and Appearances, till at length it return back into its first Station. 17. That there is both a *Transmigration* and a *Transanimation* of all the Light-Souls passing from their eternal Pre-existent State, through the (whole) Temporal State of their Captivity, even both in their Descent and Ascent *Per gradus Lucis & Tenebrarum*, through all the Forms of the Light and Dark Worlds; and that accordingly there are various Mansions, Regions or Kingdoms prepared for these, according to their respective States, ascending or descending: As for some the *Air*, for others the *Moon*, for others again the *Sun*, and the like. 18. That the *Sun* is the Kingdom of those Light-Souls that have been fully redeemed from this Earth, and all Contagion of the Darknefs, and is the City of the Blessed, into which Christ ascended from the Earth, and where he has his Palace as King thereof. 19. That such of these as having Descended, are again Ascended into the higher Regions, whether into the Sun or elsewhere, do become thereby *Angels* or *Genii*, and are serviceable to others in their Ascension; and that therefore they may be lawfully courted and *invocated* to assist us, according to this or that Talent which was observ'd to be most eminent in them here. 20. That the Invocation both of Souls departed, and of Angels, *Genii* or *Demons*, as standing in a *middle* Order betwixt us and the One Infinite unapproachable Light, is a Practice not only Lawful, but Commendable. Thence *Scythianus*, *Buddas*, *Manes*, and others of Eminency in that Sect, both practis'd and recommended this *Δαιμονολατρεία*, or the Custom of coming to God by the means of these *Middle Beings*,
and

and herein also did their *Magick* chiefly consist, with the whole Train of *Theurgical* Rites and Operations. 21. That all Beings from the first to the last in the whole Scale of Nature, having some or other Matter, and there being no such Thing strictly as an *Immaterial Substance*, it is not thence unlawful to make the *Images* both of the Things that are in *Heaven above* and in the *Earth beneath*, in order thereby to honour their Originals, and to worship that Divine Nature by them and in them, which is every where Present. 22. That God is well pleas'd in the *variety of Religions*; which do all stand in the Order of his eternal Purpose, and have proceeded forth according to his Will by an inevitable Fate; and that the *Gentile*, *Christian* and *Manichaean* Theology, do all proceed from the same Root, and are very well to be reconcil'd together. 23. That the *Law of Moses* however, was not given from the Good but from the Evil Principle; *Light* was not manifested by the Law, but by that which came to put an end to the Law: And that the Prophets before Christ, the Holy Ghost being not then given, must have prophesy'd from the same, and consequently that all the Old Testament was abrogated by the New, and totally to be rejected. 24. That the *Gospel of Christ* was from the Good Principle only; that he proceeded, *de Massa lucidissima molis Divinae*, out of the brightest Mass of the Divine Materiality for the Salvation of Mankind; that therefore he was not born of the *Virgin Mary*, as is commonly believ'd, ^a lest he should be defiled with Flesh; but *dwelt* only in that Body which was born of her, as in a Veil or Garment, but took it not into his own Person: And that consisting only of a Divine Nature *appearing* in Flesh, but not united with Flesh, he did not really suffer,

^a Metuebam credere in carne natum, ne credere cogerer ex carne inquinatum. *Aug. Confess. lib. 5. c. 10. n. 5.*

but only *seem* to do it : and that the end of his coming in such an *appearance* was to save out *Souls*, but not to redeem our *Bodies*. 25. Lastly, That *Manes* was the great Prophet of God, sent of him to perfect what Christ had begun, and the *Paraclet* which was promised to lead into *all Truth*; and that his Dispensation was the *highest* and the *best* that had ever been, or was to be expected. These are the principal Articles of the *Manichean* Doctrine, wherein are included the rest, represented with all the clearness and impartiality I was able. They may all severally be prov'd without much difficulty, and more particularly confirm'd and explain'd, which would serve much to set off the Parallel betwixt this Spirit and that of *Montanism*. However it appears at first view from this Summary of their Principles, that the *Manichees* did agree with the *Montanists* in several most material Points, that in some again they did plainly disagree with them; that in others they agreed with the *Proclians* against the *Eschinists*, and that in as many more they were Friends with these latter against the *Proclians*: And that though the Superstructure be not, the Foundation was the same both in one and the other side. Which will still further appear by considering their Discipline and Worship.

As to the manner of their *Discipline*, it was at the same time both very strict and very loose; that is, with respect to the different Subjects living in their Society. Their *stricter* Discipline differ'd very little, if at all, from that of the *Montanists*; and was, if not only, yet chiefly for the Order of the *Spiritual* among them, for as much as they did not promiscuously give that Name to all their Fellow-Members. By this they were oblig'd to keep the *Stations* and *Fasts*, so as to surpass herein, if possible, all others, *Montanists* as well as Catholics; to maintain the *Xenophagia* inviolable; to use all the Means of mortifying the Body, in order to attain

attain the *inward* and *spiritual Resurrection*; to be indefatigable in subduing the Darknefs of the Inferior to the Light of the Superior Soul, by Labours, by Watchings, by Exercise, by Silence, by Abstractions, &c. to distinguish between clean and unclean Foods, and abstain from the Use of certain Creatures that have, as they suppos'd, more than a legal Impurity, being mostly out of the dark Principle; to labour particularly by a total Abstinence from Wine and strong Drink, to keep under the Sensitive Soul and captivate the Darknefs thereof, that it may not with its Fumes obscure, or any wise resist the Divine Light within; to abstain from all kinds of Flesh, and even the very Products thereof, as Eggs, Milk, Butter and Cheese, from a Notion that these did too much invigorate the *Psychical*, and consequently depress the *Pneumatical* Life, or set the Darknefs to rule over the Light. And, lastly, Never to marry, or to know any Woman carnally, but to possess their Vessels in all Purity, to the end that by *Virginity* they may be redeem'd out of the Darknefs of the Earth, and brought up into the Light of Paradise again; from which they say *Adam* and *Eve* first fell by lusting after each other. This was the Discipline of the higher Order of the *Manichees*, that is, of their Illuminated and Inspired, or else Candidates for that Degree: At least this is what they pretended to. As for the Discipline of their Lay Hearers, that was easy enough of all conscience; for only a few ordinary Observations whereby to distinguish them from others, were requir'd of them. In general, there were recommended to them *Tria Signacula*, as they were call'd, or, The Three Seals of the *Paraclet*, e. g. 1. *Signaculum Oris*, or, The sealing of the Mouth, in keeping a Guard over their Words. 2. *Signaculum Manuum*, or, The sealing of their Hands, in the watching over all their Works. And, 3. *Signaculum Sinus*, or, The sealing of

their Reins, in the resisting all impure Thoughts and Imaginations. But then the strict keeping of these Seals was not expected of them, but was committed to the elect Disciples: As for the rest, they might eat Flesh, till the Ground, and take Wives if they pleas'd; but they were by no means to bear Arms, or follow some certain Professions that stand in the Evil Principle, and were thought more eminently to promote Violence and Unclean-ness, and draw down the Light Soul into a *mere Animal* State; whereby they conceiv'd it might come even to be confin'd in the Body of a Brute.

As to the manner of their *Worship*, they agreed herein both with the *Montanists* and *Catholicks*, in seeming to ascribe all Glory and Honour to the Principle of Good *alone*; that is, to the God and Father of Lights: And they had the Names also of Father, Son and Holy Spirit, but interpreted them much after the same manner as the *Æschinists* and the *Noetians* did. Tho' they held the Principle of Evil to be Co-eternal with God, and to have its proper Kingdom, *ab origine*, yet denied they that it was to be therefore worship'd with God; and said, That the Evil was from the Beginning (and ever must be) *lesser* than the Good; whence they compar'd the Evil Principle to the Earth and Atmosphere thereof, but the Good one to the Heavens, even whatever is beyond the Limit of the Moon. They pretended also to come to God by the help of one Mediator, whom they acknowledg'd to be begotten of God before all Worlds, and could freely confess with the *Catholicks*, to be *God of God, Light of Light, very God of very God, Begotten, not Made, being of one Substance with the Father*. But then while they own'd him to come down from Heaven for us Men and for our Salvation, and to take upon him our *Form* as a Man, they at once by taking away the *pure Spirituality* of the Divine Nature virtually deny'd his *Divinity*; and also by dis-

owning

owning the *reality* of its Incarnation openly cast off his *Humanity*, and so thereby entirely subverted the whole Mystery of our Redemption. It doth not appear that they paid any distinct Worship to a certain Being which they commonly call'd the *Mother of Life*, and taught to be that Womb out of which Christ was *only* born, as well in Time as in Eternity: Perhaps they might mean much the same with what has been already mention'd in our Account of the Mysteries of the *Montanists*; and the *Helcesaites*, a Branch of them may have partaken with the *Manichees* as well as with the *Gnosticks*. But it appears enough that they made no scruple to form their addressees to Beings of a *middle Order* on this account, that they took them to be the very *Parts of God*: Thus an inferior sort of Worship was by them attributed to these *lesser Lights*, as Particles of the one Infinite Life, whose Representative had, according to them, his Throne in the Sun; and thus the invocation of Good *Demons*, as of Angels and the Spirits of those that were thought to be made Perfect, was allow'd and practis'd among them; by which means no doubt but the Evil *Demons* did frequently insinuate themselves, of which instances might be produc'd out of St. *Epiphanius*. It also too plainly appears by the most impartial Accounts of this Heresy, that they had a great Veneration for *Pictures* and *Images*; and seem to have been the very first that ever brought them into Churches, that they might be for holy Memorials and Symbols of a Divine Presence. For there was a Church in *Turkistan* belonging to the *Manichees*, that was fill'd with Pictures which were drawn, they say, by the Pencil of *Manes* himself, who liv'd thereabouts for some time, and thus employ'd himself; And there was said to be another also in *China*, which was believ'd to have been in like manner perfected by him; that was call'd the *Picture-House*, by way of Eminence, as the Work-

manship of so Divine a Master. Whether yet this Latter might be of him or of some Disciple of his that went into *China*, and there propagated the Doctrine of his Master which remains to this Day, is not any wise to be decided; there being no Proofs that he himself was in *China*. Now the ground upon which both he and his Disciples went in, requiring that sacred Images, whether Painted or Graven, should be venerated was this; that they were not to be look'd on as barely *Representative* of the Heavenly Prototypes by them imag'd forth, but that they were also really *communicative* of certain Vertues and Influences to them appropriated, being made under such or such Constellations, and after such or such Rules deliver'd by the *Chaldeans* and others. And I am very apt to think that both the Images of the *Tengh*, and those also in the Churches of *Tchighil* and *Ghalbila* in the Province of *Turkistan*, were of this nature; and that he had never been noted in the Eastern Nations for so eminent a Sculptor and Statuary, had he not, in imitation of the strange Statues, which among the *Jews* were nam'd *Teraphim*, and are by some Christians defended; and perhaps also of the Cherubim over the Ark, made certain wonderful Figures either in Gold, or Silver, or Brass, or Stone, to be honour'd in like manner as the holy Symbols and Memorials; yea even as Vehicles and Vessels of the heavenly Light and Power to be reverenc'd by his Disciples. Moreover, the *Persians* make this Observation, That in the *Manichean* Books, wherever the Gospel is mention'd with the Name of Christ, or the *Syrian*, or the Cross, there to be sure is meant the Gospel of our Lord; but where there is any mention either of Painting, or of a Rose, or of a Tulip, or of Colours, there we are to conclude that no other is meant than the Gospel of *Manes*. In the administration of the *Sacraments* the *Manichees* had likewise from him certain particular Customs

Customs and Rites, which the Catholicks esteem'd as no better than Conjurations. In that of Baptism they believ'd a *substantial* Change to be wrought in them by the *Mother of Life*; and that the Profelytes in consequence hereof were, from being *Terrestrial*, first made *Lunar* and then *Solar*, as they were either baptiz'd with the *Heavenly Water* or with the *Heavenly Fire*, out of the Fountains of the Moon and of the Sun: And they boasted that none but those were admitted by Baptism into their Communion, could ever arrive to be Citizens of the Sun; declaring every other Baptism besides to be utterly ineffectual for this. They are said never to have given the Communion to any but in *one kind* only; and absolutely to have taken away the Cup both from their Clergy and Laity, for fear they should defile themselves with the Grape, which they held to have a natural Unholiness in it.

15 As to their *Hierarchy* and the manner of their Government, there never was a nearer imitation of the Truth, or an exacter counterfeit of the Divine Establishment of our Blessed Lord. It is known they had Bishops, Priests and Deacons among them, after the same manner as the Catholicks had. But that which was more peculiar to them was the Order of their *Elect*, out of which these were elected and ordained, even as they were out of the Multitude that *believed*. Now the Institution of this *elect Order* is said to have been after this manner: *Manes* had his Twelve Apostles, as before has been said, to whom he gave Names according to their Ministrations; and out of these Twelve he chose Three, to whom he more freely communicated his Mysteries, which were *Hermas*, *Thomas* and *Addas*. Moreover, he appointed in an inferior Order Seventy Two Disciples, whom he sent forth in like manner by Two and Two, as Christ had done. And besides these, as many as were content to give themselves up entirely to his Discipline, and to live

live in Community, abstaining from Wine and Marriage, and observing the Rules of Perfection, he honour'd with the Name of *elect Brethren*; and distinguish'd them from the rest of his Followers that could not come up to that pitch. Accordingly the *Manichees* had then at the head of their elect *Twelve* of the Illuminated, whom they call'd *Masters*; and over these a President or *Prince of Masters*, as Vicegerent of the *Paraclet* and Christ's Representative. Every one of these *Twelve* was to act by virtue of an Apostolical Power, and was suppos'd to enjoy a Principality in the Church that was not limited to any particular District. They seem to have been the very same with the *Cenons* of the *Montanists*; and the *Thirteenth* that presided as Prince of the Princes, and a Priest of Priests after a New and Royal Order, was as *their* Patriarch. By these Masters or Vicars Apostolical, there were ordained Seventy Two *Bishops*, chosen and separated out from the rest of the Elect; that is, by every Master Six Bishops, whereof he making the *Seventh* was accounted as their Head; in whom the Fulness of all their Episcopal Power was eminently lodg'd, next under their Sovereign Pontiff and Prince of their Sanctuary. And these Bishops elected and ordained under them their several *Presbyters*, out of the remaining number of Elects, being the fittest of them they could find to propagate their Religion, and serve in the Ministry of the New *Paraclet*. And the Bishops and Presbyters again ordained others from among them to be *Deacons*, who were to minister under the Presbyters as the *Levites* did under the Priests: And herein also there seems to have been no disagreement betwixt them and the *Montanists*. Now it was a Custom for those that were of the body of their Church, and were call'd *Hearers*, to bring Presents or Offerings to all the *Elects*, as to the Priests and Prophets of the Most High: And it was also an ordinary Practice amongst them

them to fall down on their Knees, not only before a Bishop or a Priest, or even a Deacon, to beg their Blessing, but likewise before every one whatever of this elect Order, that they might receive Imposition of their Hands: So high a Veneration was paid to those of the *Spirituality* by the Lay Order of Hearers, who were to think themselves as much *below* them as they were *above* the rest of Mankind in their own Conceits, by being initiated into the Doctrine of this pretended *Paraclet*.

As for their *Mysteries*, which did properly belong to this Superior Order, specially those of an higher Nature, and that are call'd *Telefmatical*, it cannot be doubted but several of them were the same with those of the *Montanists*; particularly of such as were in the School of *Proclus* and of the Order of *Leucius*. Also the *Theodotian Montanists* may possibly have supply'd the *Manichees* with some of their sublime Notions; as by comparing one with the other will appear pretty clear: Nay, the whole body of the *Manichean* Mysteries that were so exceeding numerous, without the Spirit of *Montanism* to support and animate it, must have immediately sunk into nothing. Whatever the *Marcosians*, the *Cerdonites* or the *Carpocratians* might contribute hereto, they never would have been swallow'd by any sober or thinking Persons, had they not been put on the finer Dress of the *Montanists*, and their specious Pretences for a New Dispensation of the Holy Ghost cunningly apply'd. There might be a great deal gather'd out of the Ancients concerning their Mysteries, both Purgative, Illuminative and Perfective to confirm this, if there were need: But whoever will take the pains to compare the mysteriousness of those two Spirits, namely, that of *Montanism* and this of *Manicheism*, will find that the former was with respect to the latter, but as a new Beginner to a complete Artist, or as a Child to a grown Man. Without the one the other could

could not have been; but without this other that might have been, yet without it neither could have been perfected: So that the Mystery of *Montanism* is the ground-work of *Manicheism*; and the Mystery of *Manicheism* is the Top and Covering to that of *Montanism*. There were a great number of secret Books among the *Manichees*, which treated of the *Arcana* of their Religion, and were only to be communicated to their Adepts in the elect Fraternity; in which number not a little eminent was *the Book of their Mysteries*, written with a design to subvert the Law and the Prophets, by turning all into a mere Allegory or Parable, and the *Commentaries* of Adda and Adimantius, against *Moses* and against the rest of the *Hebrew Prophets*; with the *Theosophy* of *Aristocritus*, who undertook therein to be a Catholick Reconciler, and pretended to demonstrate that both Judaism, Paganism and Christianity were but one and the same Religion, being understood; and that this was no other than the true *Manicheism* before it came to be interpolated. Abundance might here be said of their Mysteries of several sorts, more than has been said of the *Montanists* themselves; and of their pretended Apostolical Traditions and Revelations confirming the same, borrow'd from another and older Spring, which would give no contemptible light to our Subject, and wonderfully clear the Parallel we are upon, as well as the different Progress of Enthusiasm in these two Sects; But we must hasten to speak a word or two of the Subdivisions among the *Manichees* in like manner as among our *Montanists*, lest we should seem tacitly to involve them all, without distinction, under the charge of the same Crimes as well as Heresies, which by the ancient Fathers, and more particularly by St. *Austin* (in his Book *de Moribus Manichæorum*, and other Pieces) are laid upon them.

Some do make *Three* principal Sects among them, that is, the *Catharists* or *Puritans*, the *Macarians* or

or Saints, and the *Manichees* strictly so call'd. Now the *Catharist Manichees* were the worst of all, committing such Abominations, and under a pretext of Holiness too, as are not even to be once named among Christians. These were they, in particular, that profan'd the great Mystery of our Union with Christ, after so detestable a manner as before has been hinted at: Whereby yet they pretended, forsooth, to nothing but to ^a purify the Human Nature, and to set free the heavenly Portion of Light and Life from the Bondage of Corruption. And there was nothing so extravagant or abominable, which for the same Reason these spiritual Ranters would stick at. This made the other *Manichees* ashamed of them, and to disown them to be of their number, though they could not deny but they held their Principles. The *Macarian Manichees* were in outward appearance of a much better sort, and seem'd to have been those that chiefly join'd with the *Montanists*: They were called *Μακάριοι*, that is, *Blessed Saints*, as pretending above all others to an Heavenly and Angelical Life; but they were not in all Points perfectly of the Faith of *Manes*, and most probably might be some that were for incorporating the *Persian Magism* into Christianity, without falling in yet with all those measures which the stricter *Manichees* ran into. The third sort, or the *Manichees* strictly so call'd, were such as submitted to the whole Law of *Manes*, and acknowledged him to be the true and only *Paraclet* sent of Christ to enlighten the World, and to teach them in his Name and Person, the perfect Law of Truth: For 'tis plain, that all that were call'd *Manichees* did not subscribe to this Article; yea, that some of them writ against it, as did *Aristocritus*; and could

^a A *Purgando* nomen accepere; exceptum namque farinâ semen Virile in concubitu, ut id purgarent, divinamque partem liberarent; hi boni viri comedebant. *Toll. Fragm. Græc. de Manich.*

not be persuaded that *Manes* was a Prophet, or so much as a good Man at bottom ; however by indirect means he had attain'd to the knowlege of certain Divine and Natural Mysteries. But the *strict Montanists* could by no means bear to have his *Paracletship* question'd, and chiefly busied themselves in Reading and Commenting upon the Books that went under his Name ; as his *Tengh* in particular, or *Divine Hieroglyphicks*, his *Greater and Lesser Treasure*, his *Prayer-Book* or *Ritual*, his *Acts of the Giants*, his *Gospel*, his *Epistles*, and his own *Acts* collected by his Apostles, and containing all his memorable Deeds and Sayings. But besides these *Three* there were several other Sects also among the *Manichees* ; and the *Persian Historian Megidius*, makes mention of the *Charauphim* or the *Literales*, being such as were mostly addicted to the bare *Letter* of their Scriptures, without searching further : As also of the *Nahatanim* or *Punctuales*, that were a more Cabalistical Sect of these, and principally given to follow after curious Arts ; together with the *Metempsychosists*, strictly so call'd, who in the grosser Sense held the Revolution of Human Souls, not into brute Beasts only, but into Plants also, yea even into Metals and Stones ; and that they were to be redeem'd in their *vegetable State*, by passing into the Food of the Elect. These last were the true *Materialists* or *Sadducees*, who with the Resurrection deny'd also the separate Existence of Spirits, and more openly than the rest, maintain'd that there was no Order of Immaterial Beings in the World : By which they pursued the Principles of *Manes* as far as they would lead them.

18 And here it must be own'd, that the grand Mystery of *Manichæism* or Mystery of Mysteries, was a Mystery of Atheism under all these covers, and the finest Mystery perhaps of the kind that ever was invented. This would require some time to explain, it being a complete System that is adapted

to all sorts of *Phænomena*, and cunningly calculated for all sorts of Persons; but it might very much lay open the grounds of our modern Atheists and *Saducees*, that pretend to Thinking, and at once both discover the *Lock* of their Strength, and shew withal, that the very *finest* Atheism is really no other than a *most gross* Enthusiasm. But in short, whatever the Holy Scriptures do assert concerning the true God, or whatever sound Philosophers have written concerning the Infiniteness, Eternity, Immutability, Perfection, Omnipotence, Omniscience, Omnipresence, Incomprehensibility and Super substantiality of the Divine Being; all this did the *Manichean* Atheists ascribe to what they called God or their *Moles Divina*; so that it was hardly possible to discover them from those that believ'd aright in this first and grand Article of our Faith, by the manner of their Speaking or Writing. For they pretended to have Faith in God as much as any others, and to speak as honourably of him, yea even more honourably; by saying, That God neither did nor could create any thing Evil, as being himself infinitely Good, and that therefore the Evil which is in Nature proceeded not after *any* manner (or with his *Permission*) from him, but purely from a Principle that was *uncreated*, and if uncreated then also *Eternal*; and so Co-eternal with God, yet not God, as in whom there is no Darkness. Thus pretending to honour God, they substituted another Principle, according to them, Uncreated and Eternal, but not God, lest they should seem to dishonour him, by making him, tho' ever so distantly, the Author of Sin and Evil: And so by making somewhat that was not God, nor of God, to be Uncreated and Eternal, they hereby plainly insinuated, that while they confessed what they did call God to be Uncreated and Eternal, they meant This also (however call'd) might be no more a God than That, its eternal Existence notwithstanding

withstanding; which is, that there might very well be no God at all, yet Two that were called Gods as unoriginated Beings. They said that God created the Light, but that the Darknefs which was before the Light was created, was not, neither could be the Creature of God; and that this Creation of Light was nothing but the first Manifestation of Light in Darknefs, or through Darknefs, from their suppos'd infinite Mafs of un-originated Light; which pre-existent Darknefs they imagin'd to have proceeded in the Beginning from their other Co-eternal (but not Co-infinite) Mafs of un-originated Darknefs. And thus after their manner they labour'd to explain the whole Myftery of the Creation, and to give a fort of mechanical Account of the Origination of the Forms and Effences of particular Subftances: For this end from their first Element of Light they deriv'd Five other Secondary Elements; and out of thefe by the eternal Laws of Nature, which they call *Fate*, they made to be generated all the Orders of Beings in the Light-World or Paradise. And from their first Element of Darknefs they in like manner deriv'd as many other fecondary Elements of the Darknefs, directly oppofite to thefe; out of which, by the fame eternal Laws or fatal neceffity of Matter, they made alfo to be generated all the Orders of Evil Beings in the Dark-World or *Tartarus*: And then out of the mixture of thefe Elements of Light and Darknefs, Primary and Secondary, they taught that this mixt and vifible World was produced by an inevitable Fate, according to the aforefaid Laws. Thefe fecondary Elements of theirs, tho' they did fuppose indeed the *Atomical* Philofophy, we find were near akin to the *Chymical* Principles; and both from that and many other concurring Reafons there can hardly any other conclufion be made, but that there muft have been in all this the Finger of fome *Aegyptian* Chymift or other. And moft probable

probable it is, that *Scythianus* was a Chymist^a, and had study'd in *Egypt* that sort of *Occult Chymistry*, which the *Egyptian* Priests are said originally to have deriv'd from *Cham*, as distinguish'd from that other sort of it that some maintain to have continued chiefly in the Holy Line, if not only; and the Books which this Philosopher left, if we but consider the Titles thereof, seem to have been of this kind; which might not be understood so well by those into whose Hands they came, and so might be variously interpreted according to the various imaginations of the Readers; whence ensued a difference of Sects among them, some being call'd by the others *Literales*, and those again by these *Punctuales*; when perhaps neither one nor the other understood the true meaning of their Master. It might be so perhaps as to these Elements in both of their eternal Principles, as well as in that which is compounded of them both; however I shall just name them in the order I find them, without pretending to give the Exposition, or discover thereby the *Arcana* of Atheism: They are then these, viz. In the Evil Principle, 1. The *Body of Darkness* or a dark *Earth*. 2. An evil and poisonous *Water*. 3. A malignant *Wind* or deadly *Air*. 4. A destructive *Fire* or sulphurous Flame: And 5. a *Smoke* or *Fume* ascending up out of all the other Four, and comprehending in it the whole *Power of Darkness*. In the Light Principle, 1. The *Body of Light* or a Lucid Crystalline *Earth*. 2. A bright and living *Water*. 3. A benevolent *Wind* or Breath, the Living *Air*. 4. A Vital *Fire* or pure Heavenly Flame. And 5. a Quintessence of all the Heavenly Fire, comprehending in it the whole *Power of Light*, as the *holy Fifth Element*; or the Crown in the Kingdom of Light, to which the very Names of Christ and the *Paraclet* were given. Now to each one of

^a Mundan. Ep. ad Dickenson.

these Ten there was a proper Matrix or Receptacle allotted by them, and to these Repositories they gave the Name of *Antra Elementorum*; but as for the Elements themselves that were contained in them, they could find no Names properly to express them by, so they call'd them by those that most nearly approach'd to them, and which before had been in use. And they held that there was a continual Circulation of all the said Elements of Darknefs and Light, according to their several Powers, Figures and Weights; so that when they had proceeded forth thence, they could not rest till they return'd back each one into their proper *Antrum* or *Crater* again; neither could rest there, but must revolve again and again, without end. Hereupon they grounded all the Vicissitudes and Changes in this Visible World, even according to the different Combination of the Elements, their Separation or Liberation, and Revolution into their original Source; while at the same time they stily maintain'd that all this, even to the very minutest Change in the smallest Things of Life, from the vilest Insect to the greatest Philosopher, did so depend upon what they knew how to call the *Divine Predestination*, or a fatal Chain of Causes and Effects; as it was absolutely impossible, from the Constitution of these Elements, *ab origine*, and from the consequent Laws of Motion, for any thing to be *otherwise* than it was; and that all the said Elements, Good and Evil, did consist of certain Corpuscles or Atoms that were Self-existent, Eternal and Immutable; being also not dead or insensible, but having an innate Life and Motion in them. So having establish'd the Vitality and Sensibility of Matter, and having dress'd up hence to themselves the *Image* of a God, they not only in Words professed to *believe* a God, but boasted moreover that they were *illuminated* by God, yea that they were likewise actually *united* with him, being made partakers of his Divine Nature,

Nature, and thus stood in the *Unitive* and most Perfect State. When by all this *Atheistical Cant* it was plain they meant no more than that they were *parts* of the World, which being without Beginning must also be without Ending, and which was penetrated with a certain infinitely extended subtil Matter, to which they gave the Name sometimes of *Light*, sometimes of God, and other times of *Christ*; and that their Superior or *Rational* Souls being but parts of this *Material Light*, call it either God or Christ, might be properly said to be *enlighten'd* by and *united* with the Mass of it, whereof they were Parts, and Parts inseparable from the whole; and that these Souls could not by consequence but be *Immortal*, as being very Parts of God, and so upon the Dissolution of the Terrestrial Body must go to God, and abide with God; that is, return into their proper *Crates* of Light: Which Light being *infinite*, they said could no wise be confin'd, much less by any Terrestrial Being; and therefore they upbraided the Catholicks that it was a great Shame ^a for them to think that God did (or could) ever confine himself in the fleshly Body of a Man, or that God could become Man; since he is a perfect Light by reason of its Pureness passing and going through all Things, and by reason of its Infiniteness filling all Things, and comprehending them within it self, being comprehended of none. Wherefore they call'd this Mass of Material Light the *Incomprehensible God*; and so of all the rest of the Divine Attributes which they confidently ascribed to it: For they said of this that it was *Eternal*, and the God and Father of Eternity; that it was *Immutable*, without the least

^a Multumque mihi turpe [sc. *Manichæo*] videbatur, credere se figuram habere humanæ carnis, & membrorum nostrorum lineamenti corporalibus terminari. *Aug. Confess.* l. 5. c. 10.

shadow of Change in it self, but the Cause of all the Changes in the World by the internal Laws of its Motion; that it was the most *Perfect* Being, having in it self the Perfection of all the particular Beings that are, or can be; that it was *Almighty*, having all the Power that is scatter'd in all the Orders of Beings, Celestial and Terrestrial, compriz'd within it self, and as making all things daily new by its penetrating Activity, which influences their several Revolutions; that it was *Omniscient*, and over-seeing all Things, in as much as Matter was capable of *Cogitation*, and every Dust of Matter in the World had even actually some degree of it, but this must have all Collectively that was Distributively in all the Parts of the Universe; that it was *Omni-present*, an infinite Extension being no where to be excluded, and so this Deity being every where Present after such a manner might be every where, and in every Thing worship'd, as in an Onion, a Stone, or a Worm; that it was most *Just*, there being no Injustice of an Universal towards a Particular Being, or of the Whole towards any one Member, as also because the distribution of it self was Universally, according to certain Eternal and Immutable Laws founded in the very Constitution of the Elements; that it was most *Good*, the Source and Fountain of all Good in the World being no other than Light; that it was most *Holy*, seeing nothing can be even supposed purer than the Beams hereof, and no defiled Thing can fall into the Light so as to interpose and become one with it: And, lastly, that it was a most Transcendental and *Substantial* Being, as infinitely surpassing all the particular Species of Beings, and eminently rais'd above all Individual Substances. This in short is the substance of the *Manichean Atheism*, which spread it self over many Nations, and is far from being extinct at this very Day: But to discover
the

the whole Mystery thereof and take it in pieces, as it deserves, falls not under our present Consideration. Let it be remember'd that the *Manichees* in general were not let into this Mystery, nor even all their Elect, but that it was committed only to such in whom they could perfectly confide, or who had smelt it out before of their own accord. I am not able to judge by all the Search I can make, whether *Manes* himself were really an Enthusiast or an Atheist: But as he was a Person of delicate Parts and a very exalted Imagination, without the Balast of Judgment, he might probably *by fits* be both one and the other; of which it would not be hard to give examples. Nothing however can be more plain to any one that will be at the pains to take in the whole Scheme of his Religion, than that his Principles in the *first* place do in themselves directly tend to Atheism; and *secondly*, tend to such an Atheism as is very consistent both with Polytheism and Enthusiasm. Thus then it appears here the Enthusiasm of the *Montanists* led the Van to the Atheism of the worst of the *Manichees*, and how the Atheism of these last again supported the Enthusiasm of the former, and prov'd the same to be *Divine* by Two more Arguments; the one of their being real Parts of God, and the other of the inevitable Necessity for their Propheying as they did, according to the Direction of Divine Fate or whatsoever else you please to call it. No doubt but there were several that manag'd the Springs, who laugh'd in their Sleeve: And even among the *Montanists* too that were generally honest at first, there is a shrewd Suspicion that some got in among them from the very beginning and manag'd the weak well-meaning People, who were themselves of no Religion at all, but only put on a Mask to deceive. Certain it is that the *Asiatick* Bishops complain'd of some of the Advocates for the Spirit of *Montanism* to this effect; and no wonder is it

if they met with the greatest Trouble and Opposition from such as these.

19 The Order of the *Helceseits* did not so derive their Genealogy from the Spirit of *Montanus*, but they were certainly infected not only with the *Superstitions*, but even the *Atheism* of the *Manichean* School. Hence they thought it no shame to abjure Christ whom in Words they profess'd, rather than to suffer Persecution when call'd to it. And hence also it seems as if they scrupled not to pay a kind of religious Homage to the Elements, and particularly to that of *Water* above the rest, as the one general Receptacle (or *Antrum Catholicum*) of all the Elements in the *Manichean* Cosmogomy abovemention'd: Nay according to the number of these Elements both in the Good and Evil Principle, there were Ten unmarried Women, who in honour of the Water, as the universal Mother and first Matter of all Things, containing in its Bowels all Principles and Elements, did in their Enthusiastick Fits Dance together, holding up their Fingers to the Sun, and using several other Magical Ceremonies taken from the Theurgick Customs of the *Chaldeans* and *Zabians*; whereby it was believ'd that they had power over the Waters, and could either command them to spring up where there was before not the least appearance; or could cause Showers to descend in the time of Drought, for fructifying the Earth. There were also abundance of other Superstitions as ridiculous as this, that were about the same Time introduced by this odd medly of Enthusiasm and Atheism. For this Mystery of *Enthusiastick Atheism* was so manag'd as to be a seeming Apology for all the Religions in the World, and for all the extravagant Madnesses that could ever come into the Brain of any under the pretext of the Inward Light or Spirit: So it was easily propagated under the Veil of deep Mysteries, and the awful Solemnity of Mystical Rites; and

took insensibly with a world of People, who were caught before they knew it; there being somewhat contriv'd to please the Imaginations of every one without letting them too soon understand the hidden Ground which lay under so much religious Farce. Those that were of quick Wits and unpois'd Judgments were for the most part all Tinder to catch this Fire.

2.0. The very same heat of Imagination which fir'd *Tertullian* to follow the Spirit of *Montanus*, fir'd also *St. Austin*, at a time when his Blood and Spirits could not but be in the strongest Agitation to embrace this Spectre of *Manes*: For being just at the Age of *Nineteen*, and having evidently in his Genius somewhat of a natural Enthusiasm; the high Pretensions of the *Manichees*, particularly their very mysterious Cant about the Light-within, and the Methods to be us'd for setting it free from the Internal Darknes; their pretended Familiarity with God and his Holy Angels; their boasted Participation of the Divine Nature and Substance in the highest Sense; their most easy way of explaining how we might come to be even *Hypostatically* united with God and *Christed* with Christ, so as to be made really *Christ's*; and the bringing down all this, lastly, to our Natural Senses, and making the Imagination the Judge of Spiritual Things, were certainly no small Baits and Incitements to engage a Person even of less Flame than he was. It was for certain the dressing up of a *Material God*, or the placing of an *Image* of God in the very room of God himself, by ascribing to it all the Divine Attributes and rendring it all the Divine Honours, which prov'd the grand Snare to a multitude of Souls that had but dull and gross Conceptions of the Deity. *St. Austin* confesses, that when he was young, he was so foolish as to imagine that all Substances must needs be Bodies, and that there was no such thing properly as a pure Spirit; and acknow-

ledges^a that this was *the chief and almost only Cause* of his falling into *Manicheism*, that he could never think of God but as a Being that was *Corporeally extended*. Thus the Prejudices which he had suck'd in from his Infancy, made this his Fall in a manner unavoidable, while he did not exercise as he ought, the superior Faculties of his Mind, but was content to sink down into the Sphere of Imagination. And this in a great measure also was the Case of *Tertulian*, who could never have fallen so deep into the Enthusiasm of *Montanus*, or been so bewilder'd with his Spirit and the Spirit of his Prophetesses, had he had but right Notions of the *Spirituality* of God, and of all his Operations; or had he not form'd to himself such gross Conceptions both of the Nature and Origination of his own Soul: For both *Montanism* and *Manicheism* will be found upon the most impartial Inquiry to center in *Materialism*, though one might not be quite so gross as the other. And this ground therefore being once laid in the Fancy, and well riveted by Habit, the Promises both of *Montanus* and *Manes* being so singular and surprising, could not but prevail; as they accordingly did, great Multitudes both in *Asia* and *Africa* being thus presently won over to them.

21. But that in all this we may not be unjust to the *Montanists*, we must in the last place shew their *Agreement* and *Disagreement* with the *Manichees* in some principal Points at least, leaving every one to judge hereof as he shall see fit. The *Montanists* then agreed with the *Manichees* and the *Manichees* built upon the *Montanists* in these following Points. viz. 1. That the Revelation of Jesus Christ was a *true*, but not a *perfect* Revelation of the Will of God.

^a Et quoniam cum de Deo meo cogitare vellem, cogitare nisi moles Corporum non noveram; — ea maxima & prope sola causa erat inevitabilis Erroris mei. *Confess. lib. 5. c. 10. n. 3.*

2. That he was the Son of God, and ought to be called God. 3. That he reveal'd not *perfectly* all the Will of God, because it was not then the Season, or else because there were none found able to bear a more perfect Revelation of the Divine Mysteries. 4. That God had determin'd to bless the World with higher Communications of his Presence and Light than ever he had done, and to dwell as it were *bodily* in Man. 5. That God was not the Author of Evil, and would therefore put down all Evil under him. 6. That this would be the Kingdom of God in the Soul, and the Kingdom of Light. 7. That Christ is the Light of all Souls, and that he was sent into the World to deliver them from the Power of Darkneſs, and to bring them up into the Inheritance of Light. 8. That the Separation of the Light from the Darkneſs was a State of the Soul's Purification, and ſo was neceſſary to precede and prepare for the *Pneumatical* and *Elect* State. 9. That this Separation was to be effected by the means of certain corporal Austerities and Abſtinences. 10. That the Soul, after it was hereby deliver'd from the Darkneſs of the *Psychical* State, became as an *elect Bride* of the Universal and Everlaſting Light, and ſo was made *Pneumatical* and Perfect. 11. That there was a natural Impurity in ſome Creatures, to partake whereof did deſile the Soul. 12. That Virginity was the State of Perfection. In theſe, and in many other things they agreed, as from comparing their Doctrines, their Myſteries, their Discipline and their manner of Worſhip and Government, will appear. In others, on the contrary the *Montaniſts* diſagreed with the *Manichees*, or theſe with the *Montaniſts* rather; and the diſagreement was more or leſs, according as the Sects that were in each of theſe Bodies did more or leſs vary one from another. The one therefore held, that there was but *one* true Catholick and Spiritual Religion, in which

the ordinary Means of Salvation were to be found ; but the others, that *all* Religions were accepted of God much alike, and well-pleasing to him ; excepting that the *Manichean* Dispensation was the highest of all, and containing all the rest under it, had some special Privileges above them. The one distinguish'd not enough betwixt the Spiritual and Corporeal Natures ; but the others proceeded so far as to make all Spirits strictly Corporeal, and not barely *clothed upon* with a Corporeal Vehicle. The one had, for the most part, a sound Faith concerning the Object of Divine Worship ; but generally the others were most miserably blind as to this ; as appears from what has been said. The one believ'd that Christ was Man as well as God ; but the others pretended to believe that he was God only, and dwelt in the Flesh of *Jesus of Nazareth*, without being Personally united with it. The one believ'd there could be no more than *one Mediator* betwixt God and Man ; but the others fancy'd there might be besides this One a Multitude of other lesser Mediators and Intercessors. The one own'd the Propitiatory Sacrifice of Christ on the Cross ; the other took it quite away. The one confess'd the Resurrection of the Body and the General Day of Judgment ; but the others deny'd Both, making both the Resurrection and the Judgment to be spiritual only. So far was the Second Spirit worse than the First.

22 Now the *Manichees* then and *Montanists* continued still Two distinct Bodies ; yet notwithstanding this disagreement betwixt them, as they had in common a great many of the same *Apocryphal* Books, and built very much upon the same Principles, they seem to have remain'd pretty good Friends, and to have mutually assisted each other with a reciprocal Communication of their Inspirations and Traditions : So that it is difficult hence to know sometimes, whether they be originally from one or from the

the other. *Manicheism* consider'd both as an *Heresy* and as an *Atheism*, could never have taken such rooting in the World, had not *Montanism* prepar'd the way for it : They both could appear in several Disguises and Forms, and so were the more easily propagated, without being much disown'd at the first. And thus *Montanism* was propagated not only in the several Sects thereof, all of which we knew not ; but also in quite other Forms, as in the Schisms of *Novatian* and *Donatus*, and the Heresies of *Noetus*, *Sabellius* and *Nestorius* ; and chiefly under this Ministration of a New pretended *Paraclet*. So it visited *Mesopotamia*, *Arabia*, *Egypt* and all the Coasts of *Africa* under this new covering ; and travell'd even to *Rome*, where it met with a very favourable Entertainment for some time, and flourish'd much. Hence in the Fifth Century there were great Numbers found of these *Manichees* about this City, that had adopted the *Montanist* Revelations into their System ; and notwithstanding several Laws against them, they are said to have continu'd in *Rome* above Two Hundred Years from their first Rise ; till at length their Abominations growing still greater and greater, they were expell'd thence by Pope *Hormisdas*, and all their Books burnt : For they began to establish themselves about an 100 Years after that the Spirit of *Montanism* had been condemn'd, in the Reign either of *Aurelianus* or of *Probus* ; and giving forth from time to time a great Multitude of most strange and odd Books, some of them under the very Name of Christ himself ; as particularly an Epistle concerning *Magick*, to Two of his Disciples, and another Epistle to Themselves, suppos'd to be sent from Heaven by him, in like manner as their celebrated *Tengh* : They greatly propagated themselves out of the Western as well as Eastern Christians, among such chiefly whose Brains had been before heated with the *Montanist* Enthusiasms, or who had a good degree of Superstition

Superstition and Credulity in their Constitution ; before the Mystery of their Iniquity came to be reveal'd in the Eye of the Sun, and a stop put to their further Progress, till the total Expulsion of them out of *Italy* was brought about under *Theodorick* King of the *Goths* and *Anastasius* Emperor of the East. And high time it was when some among them grew so mad, after all their boasted Communion with God and blessed Spirits, as to overthrow at once all *Divine* Worship whatever ; and after having cast out the True God, casting also out of the World even that very God too whom they themselves in their blind Imaginations had form'd, to introduce in the stead of the former a Service that was directly and purely *Diabolical*. For these made their Evil Principle, whom they call'd *Arheman* or *Arimanius*, to be in such a sense the God of this present World, as if it did *of right* belong to him ; and that therefore he both might and ought to be *worshipp'd* : But the *Heavenly* Father, or the God of *Heaven*, (as they call'd him) that is, the Good Principle, they made to be the God (not of this, but *only*) of the World to come, as if he had nothing to do here, and his whole Concern was taken up entirely about that ; so that there was no ground for any, while here, to worship him. Moreover, they introduc'd *two* other Persons into the Unity of *Arheman*, their Maker and Father of this World, namely, *Sacha* and *Nebroda*, the one a Male the other a *Female* : And out of the Womb or Matter of this last, they blasphemously said that *Adam* and *Eve* were at first created ; with a deal of other insignificant stuff invented by Satan, on purpose to ridicule all that is Holy. Such reason had Pope *Gelasius* to call that *Montanist* Prophet and Legendary, who struck out the first Sparks of *Manicheism* some time before *Manes* arose, a *Son of the Devil* : And the Primitive Holy Bishops in watching so strictly over their Flocks, against the Spirit
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of *Montanus* and *Maximilla*, notwithstanding all its fine pretensions at the first, are thus sufficiently justified.

23 In the mean while *Manicheism* being driven from among Christians, and with the utmost Execration anathematiz'd in a manner so very solemn, as perhaps is not to be parallel'd again; it united it self with *Paganism*, and incorporated it self with all the idolatrous Ceremonies of the Heathens throughout many Nations. And thus it spread it self through *Persia*, *China*, *Japan*, *Cochinchina*, *Turkestan*, and other Kingdoms and Provinces of the East; and profelyted vast Multitudes in all those Parts, taking such a deep rooting as it remains there to this Day, and flourishes; if the best Accounts of Travellers can be credited. And some have observ'd, that it is in a manner impossible to discern the Worshipers of the *True* God from the Worshipers of the *Manichean* God, both in *China* and *Cochinchina*; and that there are in those Places great numbers of *Manichean Atheists*, who to all appearance seem to worship the God of Heaven, as the God of Gods and the one supreme infinite Good, when by this they mean no more than a certain *first Matter*, or the whole Mass and Collection of the more Spirituous and Light Corpuscles, which penetrate and fill the World, wherein they suppose the Life and Vegetations of all Things therein to consist. But what is here chiefly to be observ'd, and which is not so very strange as it may at first appear, is, that these notwithstanding are high Pretenders to Revelation, and often seem to fall into Ecstasies, wherein they are marvellously agitated and do speak abundance of strange Things; and that their Mysteries and Magical Observations and Rites, in order to the attainment of such a Divine Familiarity as they boast of, are without number, even as among the old *Manichees*. And that they proceeded from this very Stock originally,
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can hardly be so much as doubted by any that will be at the Pains to consider and compare, how they have been instructed to ape almost every thing that is found in Christianity, and with the rest, several Customs which were introduced into the Church in the Fifth and Sixth Centuries, even about the Time of the Expulsion of the *Manichees*; and which probably they can have taken from no others, however they may call themselves the Disciples of *Confucius*, or of *Xaca* [or *Chaca*] that is nam'd the *Epicurus* of the *Indies*. Nor would it be difficult to add several other Observations for a farther confirmation of this Point, to those which have been made by the Jesuits *Borrhi* and *Bartolo*; the one in his Relation of *Cochinchina*, the other in the History of his Society, concerning the prodigious mimicking of all the Christian Mysteries and Rites in the Discipline of *Xaca*, who by some also is called *Buddas*, the adopted Name of the Master of *Manes*, as also of one of his Apostles. Thus this *Manichean* Spirit travel'd from Country to Country, over that part of the World which remain'd chiefly in Idolatry, and pretended to be that *great Light* which came out of the Mass of Infinite Light, on purpose to *enlighten* all them that sit in Darkness, and bring them to the knowledge of the Truth.

24. Nor did it cease even here, but after having blasphem'd against the Law of *Moses*, as proceeding from a Root of the dark Magick, it join'd with the Zealots for that Law against Christianity, and united it self with the worst and most degenerate *Judaism*, that sprung up in the Dregs of that State after their last Captivity. Hence it is observable, that the *Talmudists* and latter *Rabbins* have generally dress'd up just such another God as *Manes* had done, adopted several of his Principles, and copy'd after certain Mysteries and Fables that are in their Original undoubtedly *Manichean*, or else *Egyptian*.

Egyptian and Chaldean, from whence the *Manichees* themselves had them. For the capital Error of *Manicheism*, or the τὸ πρῶτον ψεῦδος, the First and Fundamental Lie on which all the rest do hang, is the *Consubstantiality of Spirit with Matter*, or, which is all one, the introducing of a *material* God into the World, whence all Spiritual Operations must be produced *out of Matter* mechanically. And this is that which by innumerable Texts of the *Talmud*, as learned Men observe, appears to have been a commonly receiv'd Notion among the *Jewish Doctors*, after that they had rejected the *True Light*; which would have taught them that *God is a Spirit* in quite another sense than they understood, and must therefore be *worshipped in Spirit*: For as much as it is plain they had no manner of Idea of an *Immaterial Spirit* or Mind, but did carnally grope after a God that might come under their Senses, and go before them, carving out to themselves such an Image of the Deity, according to the First Principle of *Manes*, as either *Xin* of the *Chinese* or the *Parabrama* of the *Indian Brahmins*. But as for the other Capital (but not so Fundamental) mistakes concerning *Fate* and the *Eternity of Evil*, they are properly said to be held for Corollaries from this; and so they may be more than sufficiently insinuated, where they are not explicitly express'd. There are abundance of *Rabbinical* Fables or Riddles, which favour of *Manicheism* as to those Points too, which might be instanced in, were it worth the while; as there are others also, not a few, which might have suited well enough with the Prophecies of *Montanus*; and may not unreasonably be suppos'd to have had the very same Origin likewise, that is, an Imagination exalted and expos'd to the Invasion of all sorts of Spirits. Yea, not only the Enthusiasms and Mysteries of the *Rabbins* are not unequally match'd with those of the *Cataphrygians*

phrygians and their Successors; but also that very *superstitionsness* [^a *supra Statutum*] in a voluntary superadded Religion of their own, beyond what the Law or the Gospel strictly requir'd, was *common* to one as well as the other; being no more Characteristical of the *Jewish* than of the Christian *Pharisees*, or of the Christian than *Jewish* Pretenders to the *Divine Neshamah*. The *Montanist* Prophets and Prophetesses did doubtless gratify many of the *Jews* by their Predictions of the glorious State of the Church, as then at the Door, under the Triumphant Reign of the Messiah, who should gather in the whole House of *Israel*: And therefore no wonder it is, if, in requital to them, or opposition to the Catholics who rejected their Spirit, some few of the late *Jewish* Doctors, contrary to a known and universal Tradition among both the ancient *Jews* and Christians, did advance such a Paradox that the true ancient Prophets were agitated under Inspiration even as these Pretenders, or as the Sybils are said to have been. And it is shrewdly to be suspected that this might be done also with some farther prospect; and that if there were not downright *Sadducism* or *Manichean* Atheism under it, they might intend to flatter such as these, not without a design thereby to undermine the Revelation of the Gospel, as having been given forth by the Ministry of such Persons, who were generally acknowledged not to have had any of those violent and tumultuous Agitations. However a Plot there was, and it had its effect too much. Now for the *Jewish Manichees*, they were chiefly known by their being much addicted to Astrology, by their holding the Eternity of Matter and so denying Creation in a proper Sense, by their making the Angels Co-creators with God, by their allegorizing the

Mosaic Genesis and the History of the Fall in such a manner as to subvert them both, by their bold Criticisms on the Scriptures and Arts of Enervating the Authority of Prophets truly Divine, by their Superstitions about Angels, by their Doctrines of the Revolution of Human Souls and their Eternal Pre-existence in and with God, by their making Darkneſs to be in God as well as Light, by their laying the Foundations of an Heathen and *Manichean* Magick both in *Moses* and the Prophets, by their favour for many of the *Egyptian* and *Chaldean* Customs: And, laſtly, by their having ſuck'd in the *Aristotelian* Principles, whereby a late learned Phyſician^a has clearly, I think, made out that the *Jews* came to loſe intirely the Knowledge of the Primitive and Moſaick Philoſophy, and even of their own *Technical* Term for the *Fiſt Matter* as by God created. For there is no agreement betwixt the Principles of *Aristotle* and *Moses* for certain; and thoſe of the Former being but once allow'd, the *Eternity of the World* muſt of neceſſity be granted: And from thence it will be eaſy to derive not only the Co-eternity of Matter and Form or of Darkneſs and Light, but alſo moſt or all the Principles and Myſteries of the *Manichees*, who are ſaid to have been much beholden to that Philoſopher. Nay, it ſeems that their oldeſt Patriarch was even of his School, St. *Cyrril*^b of *Hieruſalem* telling us expreſſly, that he was an *Imitator of the Life of Aristotle*. And here I cannot but obſerve, as by the bye, that there ſhould be near about the ſame time at *Alexandria* Two ſuch great Men, who taught a quite different Cabbala from each other; the one ſitting in the Chair of *Aristotle* the other in that of *Plato*; I mean *Scythianus* and *Ammonius*, out of the School of which laſt came both *Porphyry* and *Origen*.

^a Edm. Dickenſoni *Phyſica Vetus & Vera*. cap. 4. §. 19, 23. Lond. 1702. ^b *Cyrril*. in Catech. 6.

25 Thus then *Manicheism* spread it self, after it had been midwif'd and nourish'd by *Montanism*, and fill'd great part of the World. But it would here be absurd to expect that there should be either Unanimity or Uniformity among so many different Colonies of this Sect, when the very Foundation of their Religion was Strife and Discord, as without Beginning so without Ending. Wherefore if the *Jewish Manichees* differ'd from the Heathen, or the Heathen *Manichees* from the Christian, or the Christian *Manichees* from them both; they did not differ more than the several Sects of them did one from another in this last Body, or than some of the Sects of the *Manichees* did from some of the *Montanists*. This is a Mystery, out of which all Evil and all Error did heretofore manifest it self; and is indeed fundamentally opposite to the Mystery of Christianity, out of which all Good and all Truth can only be deriv'd, though it pleaded its Genealogy from Christ, and was set up under the Pretext of a New *Paraclet*, as the great expected Dispensation of the Holy Ghost. It is generally thought to be extant at this Day among us: But the contrary hereof is most true; I wish I could say it were not. How far the *Montanists* were exceeded by those that rose up after them it now sufficiently appears; as also how these built upon their Revelations, and the Traditions of one of their Doctors; with their Agreement and Disagreement, and Antiquity of *Latitudinarianism*.

ARTICLE

ARTICLE XIX.

Of the Extinction of Montanism, and what succeeded.

THUS *Montanism* then having not only branched forth it self into several lesser Sects, some of which quickly lost the Name of their Patriarch, but also disguis'd it self under several other Appearances and Forms, intermingled with most or all the ancient Heresies, the *Arians* excepted, and made way for the introduction of another New pretended Dispensation, that was to be far more glorious than any ever before it, as the Apostle thereof was caught up, they say, into Heaven, and there for a whole Twelvemonth together instructed by the Angels and by God himself. About the latter end of the Fourth, and in the Fifth Century more especially, there was perceiv'd a visible Declension herein, both as to Interest and Numbers: Some were convinced of the Delusion and returned into the Bosom of the Church; but a great many, according to all probability, were swallowed up with the *Manichees*, and particularly with those of the *Macarian* Order, as a *New Light* that was sprung up out of the *East*. So the *Manichees* were enlighten'd by the *Montanists*, drawing out of their Legends many of their Mysteries; and the *Montanists* were again enlighten'd by the *Manichees*, making the same use of their secret Traditions and Revelations. But the Religion of *Manes*, as the *Man from the East* prevailing over that of *Montanus*, for many Reasons too long to be here specify'd, the *Montanists* were now but little consider'd. And in some places where the Catholick Religion had been in a manner lost, it began again to be

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restor'd; Catholick Bishops being there establish'd as at first, where their Sees had been usurp'd by *Montanists* even for more than an Hundred Years, as particularly was the case of the Church of *Thyatira*, and some other bordering Churches, according to what has been already hinted. The Time of this is not so certainly fix'd, but it was towards the end of the Fourth Century, and very probably under the Reign of *Theodosius* the Great; and it may be also by his Authority. In the Fifth Century their Declension was more apparent, yet they secretly fortify'd themselves by their Alliances. And what they did seem to lose openly was compensated by the Accession which they made, and the Assistance which they gave more privately, to others who did set up much upon the same Stock as themselves. This however was sometimes an hindrance to them; for thus hereby they came generally to be involv'd together with the *Manichees* in the Edicts of Emperors: And this seems to have been the very Case of the *Thyatirian Montanists*, who by their symbolizing with the Heathenish Rites and Customs, appear to have been very good Friends with the *Manichees*, if they were not actually united with them. The same then may be said of the *Quintillians*, who lasted till about the Fifth Century at least, and are charg'd with some abominable Mysteries, wherein 'tis probable they participated with the *Manichees* as well as with the *Marcosians*. About the middle of the Fifth Century it appears that they were still very numerous, not only in *Phrygia* but in the Provinces also bordering upon it. They declined yet apace in other Parts; and we hear little or nothing of them in *Italy*, where they had formerly so great an Interest. If there were any of them they pass'd under other Names. But if there were none that could be found at *Old Rome*, it cannot be said that *New Rome* was clear of them; for so long as they continu'd in the *Lesser Asia* they transported themselves

selves hither on all occasions, whereby the Capital of the Empire was infected. In *Cappadocia*, *Galatia* and *Cilicia* they continued to be pretty considerable for their Numbers: But it doth not appear that the true Catholick Christianity was here at any time extinguish'd by them, as it seems to have been for some time in *Phrygia* and part of *Lydia*, as to the publick Exercise thereof (at least) particularly under *Constantius*, in the XIXth Year of whose Reign some Catholick Bishops were relegated to those Parts where they could have no enjoyment of any Church Society, all being overrun either with *Barbarism* or *Montanism*. Now *Phrygia* was for certain held to be such a Place, when the Edict against them was given out, as is evident from the Case of *Paulinus* and the Complaint of *St. Hilary*. Nor did this Inundation presently there abate after the Death of *Constantius*; but there are Reasons to think it might continue till much about the Time of the elder *Theodosius*, without any sensible diminution. After which the *Montanists* began to decline apace; that is, as they were a distinct Body and had a Form of Government establish'd among them; as well by the Catholics getting ground, as also by other enthusiastick Heresies that partook of their Leaven, springing up and disseminating themselves.

2- So that in the *Sixth* Century there was hardly any notice taken of them, so far as we can find: However there still remain'd some numbers of them that did keep their *old* Name, without losing themselves in the *newer* Forms, which many of them had been prevail'd with to put on. For by a Homily which is extant in the Works of *St. Chrysostom*, but which is not his for certain, the Criticks not allowing it to have been written before the Year DCLXXII, it is evident they were not yet totally extinct in the *Seventh* Century. Since the Author hereof mentions the *Montanists* with the *Quartodecimans*,

as actually in Being about that very time. And after this we hear no more of them. So that we may conclude hence, that this Enthusiasm of the *Montanists* lasted Five Hundred Years and better, and in that time generated abundance of other Sects as out of its Bowels, to disturb the Peace of the Church under the most holy Pretences. Neither the Time of its Rise, nor of its Extinction can exactly be known; but this is the sum of what we can learn from those Monuments which are left us to this Day, they being extremely deficient: For by comparing all the Accounts that are given, there can be no doubt but the Birth of it, taking it for the *mean* Computation, was in the Wilderness of *Phrygia*, not much above an Hundred Years after the Resurrection of Christ, and Foundation of the first Christian Church at *Jerusalem*; and that the expiration of it was *gradual* in the Fifth, Sixth and Seventh Centuries, till at length it quite vanish'd to give way to another pretended *Paraclet* yet, who first appear'd out of the Wilderness of *Arabia*, and set up beyond all that had ever been before him for Revelations and Miracles.

3. This was no other than *Mahomet* (of cursed Memory) who was the Successor of *Manes*, as *Manes* was of *Montanus*, in his Pretensions to a New Dispensation from Heaven. Whether his Religion were the contrivance of a Cabal only, as many do think, or whether it proceeded out of his own Head, or whether it might be the Product indeed of some supernatural Agent; or, lastly, whether there could not be in it a Mixture both of Imposture and Delusion at once, is not here so very material to be resolv'd. I am willing to judge as favourably of the matter as it can bear, and to allow every one his due, let the consequence thereof be what it will; since *Truth* will be found at last *stronger than all things*, and we can never do worse Service to our holy Religion, than by going about
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to support it with *pious Lies*, or by charging its Adversaries *falsely*. As to the *Person* then of *Mahomet*, the Accounts concerning him being not only very different, but in some Points flatly contradictory, we shall not insist much: It is plain however from all of them, that his Pretensions were not unlike to those of *Montanus*; that he was as great a Visionary as he, if not greater; that he set up in like manner to be a great Reformer of Abuses and Corruptions; that he pretended to build also both his Mission and Doctrine upon the very Foundation of Christ and his Apostles; that he persuaded his Followers that he came not to destroy either the Law or the Gospel, but *to fulfil* them both; and that he gave himself out to be no more than a Reviver of the *most ancient* Religion, whereby the Patriarchs *walked with* and had the familiar Communion of God and his Angels. This was the manner of his first setting out, which took so wonderfully with vast Multitudes of all sorts, that were presently bewitch'd with that strange Power and Authority which appeared in him, and led from the Truth by specious Pretexts and Images cunningly accommodated to that end. But it is here observable, that as there was an Alliance betwixt the *Manichees* and the *Proclian* School of *Montanists* (or at least one Branch of these;) and an inroad made upon Christianity by the former in the strength of this Alliance, and by building in a great measure upon what had been before deliver'd by some of them: So on the contrary, the Religion of the *Mahometans* appears to have been principally founded on the Principles of *Æschinist Montanism*, and of *Nestorianism* as a derivative from it; and it seems that most, or all the Mischief they have done to our Holy Faith has been by Arrows drawn out of that Quiver, as by a multitude of Instances it might be easy to prove. There is an *Arian* indeed, by some charg'd with having a Fin-

ger in the compiling of this Religion, but upon what grounds I know not: For surely there is not the least footstep of direct *Arianism* in all the *Alcoran* to be found, let any imagin what they please; whereas there is hardly a Page of it in which there are not most clear touches of true and proper *Æschinism*, or *Unitarian Montanism*. It is true, that *Mahomet* took some of his Materials from his Predecessor *Manes*, whom he plainly imitated in the manner of his setting out; allowance being only made for the difference of the Tempers they had to deal with, namely, the Fineness of the *Persians* and the Grossness of the *Saracens*: But then it is as true, that he did declare against all those Points of *Manicheism*, which could not be brought to consist with the *Æschinist* Hypothesis by him suck'd in. And it is very probable that the Tribe of the *Coraisites*, who so vigorously oppos'd him in the beginning, were a sort of *Manichees* that had blended Christianity with Paganism, and introduced a kind of *Astrological Religion*, instead of that true Christian Faith and Worship, which in and before the Reign of *Valens* ^a they had been instructed in: For as much as it certain, that the Religion of the *Manichees* had not only its Rise in and about those Parts where these were found, but also made there a considerable Progress. Both *Scythianus* and *Mahomet* were *Saracens*: And the Sect of the *Coraisites* which inhabited the two *Arabia's*, viz. the *Desert* and the *Happy*, were properly, it seems, Idolaters upon the Principles of the *Chaldean Theology* or Pagan *Manicheism*, as Disciples of the former; whom they were for a great while unwilling to quit, for the sake of the *Newer Light* which this latter pretended to. The two *Arabian* Historians, *Elmacinus* and *Abul Pharajus*, are pretty particular in their Accounts of the Rise and Progress of this

^a Socrat. l. 4, 36. Sozom. l. 6, 38.

second Saracenick Ministration, by the Revelation of *Mahomet* : And from these, by diligently comparing all Circumstances, it will not be hard to discern from whence his pretended Light first arose, and how that without the Enthusiasms of *Montanus* and the Glosses of *Æschines*, he could never have so prodigiously avanc'd himself, as it appears he did. It would be here perhaps not unpleasant to give an Account of *Coraisitism*, and to shew how the Rise of it was owing to one Branch of *Montanism* chiefly, but the Extinction of it to another ; and likewise to discover how, according to the Patterns both of *Montanism* and *Manicheism*, the Institutions of the *Mahometan* Law were copied. But this cannot be now insisted upon. We shall therefore only give a succinct Narration of the manner of the Appearance of this (pretended) Prophet and of his New Dispensation, out of the most authentick Writers, just so far as may concern our present Design ; not obliging any to believe more than they see Evidence for, and leaving them to make what Reflections hereupon they think fit.

4. Now when *Montanism* was just about expiring, the Spirit of *Mahometanism* began to put forth it self in a like manner, by seizing upon one of the Sect of the *Coraisites*, that was consequently educated in the *Manichean* Principles, and agitating him so violently that he frequently appear'd to lie as one dead : Which was attributed by him to the Majesty of the Divine Presence overpowering his Nature, or at least to the Lustre of some great Angel then conversing with him. For in these Paroxysms it was ordinary for him to fancy that he had an intimate Communion with the heavenly Objects ; and that he heard God, the Angels and the blessed Saints discourse with him very familiarly. When he came out of them he was perfectly as other Men, and then reported

what strange things had passed with him during that time. He gave very surprizing accounts of the other World, of Heaven and Hell, of Paradise and of a certain Middle Region for Souls which he call'd *Araf*, of the Resurrection and the Day of Judgment, of the uniting of all Religions before the end of the World, and the Coming again of Christ for that purpose: And he made very good Exhortations to Holiness, Righteousness and Temperance; to Charity also, Resignation, Humility, and all sorts of Virtues; and above all, to an intire Faith in God and dependance upon his revealed Will. Immediately before he fell into any of his Ecstatical Fits, he is said always to have pronounced these words, *In the Name of God Merciful and Gracious*: And just as he came out of them he utter'd again the very same words, as the Seal of all that was by him then seen or heard. He was yet suspected of Imposture by some even from the Beginning; but being charg'd with it, he not only deny'd it, but most solemnly appeal'd to God for the truth of his Mission, and challeng'd those that made the Objection to discover, if they could, the least flaw against his Integrity in this affair. He acknowledg'd that he a was simple Man, without Letters, and of no Capacity to understand a great deal even of his own Revelations; and no more than a weak Instrument taken up of God for the manifesting of his Power and Glory to the World: but he strongly insisted upon his Sincerity and Veracity, protesting, that there was nothing of his own Spirit or Will, that intermix'd it self in this matter; but that he was herein purely actuated by an Agent *without* and *above* himself, that commanded him so and so, and from whose Dictates he did not vary the least Tittle. For even some that held him to be inspir'd, said that there was a Mixture nevertheless in his Inspirations; and that he had not faithfully deliver'd them just as he receiv'd them,

them, but had made himself, or suffer'd others to make some Alterations and Amendments which might seem to him or them for the better. Wherefore in one of his Warnings or Inspirations, God is introduced commanding him thus to vindicate himself, *viz. Say thou unto them, I have not set about to make any alteration in the Things that are written; I know not that which was inspired into me of God; I am afraid of being punished in the Day of Judgment, should I disobey his Divine Majesty. And again; Say thou unto them, Had it not been the Will of God, I would not have read to you, or taught you his Commandments; know ye not how long a time it was I sojourned with you, before ever I made mention of them to you?* Also in another place it is written; *Say thou unto them, What better Testimony can there be in the World than the Testimony of God himself: Say therefore to them, He shall be a Witness betwixt you and me, that he inspired into me the Book for your Instruction. And can any among you that comprehendeth it [the Alcoran] say there is any other God besides him.* There was never any Prophet, True or False, that made greater protestations of his Sincerity, or more solemn Appeals to the Divine Majesty, to justify the Truth either for or against him. There are abundance of Passages of a like nature with these to be found among his Inspirations, which it would be as endless as needfuls to transcribe. Several times he calls God and all his holy Angels to witness, that there was no Imposture either in the Whole, or in any Part of what he had declar'd in the Name and Person of God; nay, sometimes God is brought in swearing to the Truth thereof, or else it may be an Angel is made to confirm the same by an Oath, and solemnly hereupon to abjure all the Creatures both in Heaven and in Earth. Moreover his Fits of Inspiration and Agitations were such as could not well be counterfeited, yea perhaps not at all; and thence as
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many as did not believe, generally imputed the same not to Art, but Nature; not to mere contrivance and farce, but to a real Disease and an irresistible attack upon the Brain; however, they suppose that he might make his Advantage of it, by pretending the same to be Supernatural and from Heaven. These were properly the same with the Ecstasies, or rather Parecstasies of *Montanus* and his Prophets, according to all appearance; and from such shaking Fits and his falling down frequently hereupon as into a Trance, they that reason'd about it concluded that it must needs be no other than the *Morbis Sacer*, and that he was strictly an *Epileptical* Enthusiast. It is also known that the *Mahometans* have to this very Day Epilepticks and Idiots in a special Veneration, on account of their being thought fitter subjects for Prophecy, than others that exercise the use of their Reason: Which is moreover pleaded for by some Naturalists and Physicians, but is directly contrary to the standing Rules both in the Jewish and Christian Church for the trial of Spirits. And this *Mahomet* himself, tho' very ignorant, probably could not but know. Certain it is, that in his *Warnings* there are abundance of Passages to obviate or answer, the Objections of *Jews* and Christians; and some that seem particularly levell'd against this, by making the manner of the Revelation to him to have been different from all that ever had been before. For it might be convenient not to take any notice either of *Montanus* or *Manes*, with whom, and him, the difference was but small, if any, as to the way of their receiving their Inspirations; and therefore 'tis sufficiently given us to understand, that the peculiar and characteristick difference of his pretended Dispensation and of his Revelations establishing it, must have regard to *Moses* and Christ, or to the Prophetical Oeconomy both under the Law and the Gospel.

5. For as much as nothing can be plainer from the whole Collection of Prophetical Warnings passing under his Name, than that he really pretended to set up a *Third* Divine Oeconomy, even as *Manes* had before attempted to do, and before them both *Montanus* yet more imperfectly, for the Salvation and Restoration of Mankind to a State truly Paradisiacal: And that in consequence of such an Opinion it was generally believ'd by his Followers, that he was appointed of God to be that great Restorer prophesy'd of by the ancient Prophets, and that holy *Comforter* foretold by Christ to succeed him, is also evident from unexceptionable Authorities: Nay, his Disciples did constantly aver, that he was expressly foretold by *Name* in the ancient Scriptures, and was particularly pointed at by Christ himself, as he was by St. *John the Baptist*; but that both his Name was expung'd, and several Texts relating to him in both the Testaments, were industriously alter'd by the *Jews* and Christians. All the World knows how earnestly the former expected always a glorious and triumphant *Messias*; and the Text therefore which look'd towards the Victories and Glories of Christ in the last Days, were without much difficulty drawn to favour the Pretensions of a Militant Prophet. Now the aim was chiefly to win over great numbers of the *Jews* thereby that were drunk with those hopes, under the consideration, that he was a true Son and Successor of *Abraham* by Right of Primogeniture, as well as by Faith; and that the Spirit of *David* rested likewise upon him, even the Spirit of him unto whom the *Psalter* was given, as the glorious *Alcoran*, they say, was unto him the elect Prophet and Apostle of the Most High. But among Christians his Standard was set up as the promised *Paraclet*, that was to give them a true understanding of all things they had been taught in the Gospel, and to abide with them for ever, as the Spirit and Messenger

ger of Truth proceeding from God and testifying of Christ: And the distinction which was invented by some *Rabbins* of Two Christs, or of Two *Paraclets* in the *Montanist* dialect, was in all probability more than a little favourable to the Claim of this *Arabian* Pretender; who as taking upon him the Office of a *Paraclet*, was for convincing all the World in the first place of *Sin*, because they believed not presently in him; and then of *Righteousness* and *Judgment*, both in order to the *Justification* of himself, by appearing to commit his Plea to God wholly; and reporting how he proceeded from, and was caught up to God; and to the *Condemnation* of Unbelievers, by not barely denouncing, but also executing the Divine Judgments upon them; of which there are instances in History not to be number'd. In the Quality also of *Paraclet* or *Apostle of the Divine Majesty*, he establish'd the New Law, wherein we are told that *all Perfection* is to be found, and of which a world of incredible things are related: And moreover, he avoided in a great measure the capital Mistakes both of *Montanus* and *Manes*, which had so much obstructed the Progress of their Religion, that he might appear a better *Paraclet* than either of them, and be also a Reconciler both of *Jew* and *Christian*. Thus standing as upon their Shoulders he had certainly the advantage of them, and being besides as much *Dæmonaical in Nature*, tho' not after the very same kind, the prodigious Success which attended him is not so much to be wonder'd at. The *Jews* had then waited for above six Hundred Years beyond their time for the Manifestation of one that should be the *desire of all Nations*, and should gather together all the *Seed of Abraham*, and lead them victoriously: The *Christians* were most miserably torn and rent to pieces, and could by no means be brought to agree about the Person and Nature of Christ; and their Manners also were exceed-

exceedingly corrupted; and besides this, there could be no place in the whole World better dispos'd for bringing about some considerable Revolution in Religion, than *Arabia* was at that time. The *Arabian* Heresy, which was a Twig from the Root of *Montanism*, was not so extinct, but it had mainly prepar'd the People of that Country for the Reception of *that* which follow'd upon it: The Enthusiastick Tribes of the *Helcesaites* which was a Weed from the same Soil, and of true *Arabian* Produce, had done the same: And so also had the *Collyridians* the *Anthropomorphites* and the *Manichees*, who had all spread themselves about these Parts, upon the Score of which *Arabia* was accounted no less fruitful of Heresies than *Africa* of Monsters. Besides all which there were many other concurring Circumstances most worthy of Observation, that are easily to be found in the History of those Times, that afford a very great Light into this Mystery of *Mahometism*. Now when *Mahomet* appear'd in the Character of an Apostle of God and *Paraclet* to Mankind, and in a most awful manner declar'd that he had a newer and clearer Light than ever had yet arisen in the World, which would clear up all Doubts, dispel all Darkness, and was the only way of reconciling all that were of good Will in every Religion; there were great Multitudes which presently ran after him, and were caught by him. There were a world of Miracles reported of him for confirmation of his Doctrine and Commission; but the truth is, he himself seems never to have insisted much upon them, but always to have appeal'd to the very Inspirations themselves (said to be) given him; even challenging not only the Heathen Idolaters, but the *Jews* also and the Christians to produce any that were comparable to these. And accordingly the Collection of these hath ever since to this Day, been constantly esteem'd among the

Mahometans

Mahometants as a Miracle of Miracles: For tho' we are told of no less than *seven* Miracles wrought at his Birth, with a great many that follow'd, yet this is made to be greatest of all, and more than all together; that a Man of no Letters should be able to bring forth a Book so full of Wonders, and written in the most elegant Style, as also attended with such a Power as to seize and convert Multitudes at once, so that both *Jews* and Christians were thereby forced, they say, to fall down upon the Earth, and with Tears to confess that God was in the same of a Truth, and that the Promises thereof were infallible. Whence God is brought in saying to *Mahomet*, *They unto whom we have given the Knowledge of the Scriptures do rejoice in the Doctrine (or Law) which we have sent to thee.* Also the Angel saying to him in another place, *Thou shalt find that the Christians have a great inclination towards the true Believers, and Friendship for them; for as much as there are among them both Priests and Religious [Monks] that are lowly in Spirit, whose Eyes are even full of Tears whenever they hear the Doctrine which God hath inspired into thee but made mention of, by reason of the knowledge which they have of the Truth. And they cry out, O Lord, we believe in thy Law, write thou us therefore in the Number of those that profess thy Unity. Who shall hinder us from believing in God, and in the Truth which we have been taught? We ardently wish, O Lord, that we may be of the Number of thy Righteous ones, and God shall hear their Prayers, &c.* Moreover these are certainly believ'd by them to have been the very words of Christ to the *Jews*, viz. *I am the Messenger of God; he hath sent me to confirm the ancient Covenant [or Testament] and to declare to you that there shall come a Prophet after me whose name shall be Mahomet.* By which they understand a Prophet like unto Christ, and the very same with the Comforter promis'd by him, as the only Guide of Truth; to which there is an express Allusion found.

found in near an hundred Texts of what they call the *Book of Truth*. Now there was a Notion common among a great many at that time, and some while before, which of late Years has been revived, that the Holy Ghost was only a *great Angel*. And whereas some of the ancient Hereticks would have this to be *Gabriel*, as the prime Intelligence betwixt God and Man, and the Catholicks generally granted him to be the Messenger of the Revelation of Christ; the Spirit which enter'd into *Mahomet* made his advantage hereof, by causing every thing to be done and transacted as in the Name and Person of that Holy Angel, even as if he were his *Δόλος πάρεδρος*, or, Familiar Spirit; by virtue whereof this *Arabian* counted it no robbery to equal himself with Christ, and to assume to himself that Character which our Blessed Lord had given only to the Holy Spirit, as his Successor in the Government of the Church.

6. So under this Character he gave forth his New Law which yet he said was older than *Moses* and Christ, being the very *Law of Abraham*, yea that it was before *Abraham*; and written in Tables in Heaven by the Finger of God, and thence transcrib'd by the Spirit *Gabriel*, and so brought down and communicated to him as one predestinated to such a Commission by the Grace of God, most Gracious and Merciful. And thus having confirm'd the Law and the Gospel, he proceeded upon the *Catharygian* Principles to establish a certain *Third Dispensation*, that was pretended to be more complete than them both, and was said to have been kept for the last Times in order to be revealed by this last Prophet; concerning whom his Disciples believe that he was for this end caught up into Paradise, and into the *seventh* Heaven to the very Throne of God. There are a multitude of Visions reported of him in imitation of the great Prophets and Apostles of God, but as giving him a Superiority over them all;

all; as particularly of his being transported above all Heavens upon a peculiar Animal or Cherub, to receive his Commission immediately from the Mouth and Hand of God, without the intervention of any subordinate Spirit how high soever; of his having Power given him over the Moon, that is, the Church; and his dividing thereupon the same into two Parts (as indeed he did in one sense) but keeping them both still as under his Command and Consent; and an hundred others all tending to the Exaltation of him as a New and glorious *Paraclet* that was come down from Heaven, and appointed for a Guide to the Ignorant and for a Comfort of all the Faithful. And as if it were a little matter to have a Prospect of the *Jerusalem* that is Above, as some of the *Montanist* Prophetesses after St. *John* pretended to have: He is said to have had a View of all the *seven Heavens*, and the Glories thereof, and all the *seven Earths* answering thereto, with the Beauties thereof; and of the supreme Paradise of God comprehending within it self all these: Also in the World of Darkness of the *seven Gates* of Hell, and of those that enter thereby; together with the most majestical scenes of the Resurrection and the Day of Judgment: The Descriptions of which last, as given by him, are indeed most August and Magnificent. And it may seem hard to think that a *mere Hypocrite* could be ever able to counterfeit such. But howsoever it was, most unquestionable it is that the thinking Persons of that Age were extremely divided about him, and about this his New (pretended) Dispensation or Revelation. Some concluded that all must be a mere Cheat from the Beginning to the End, and that *Mahomet* was a crafty Knave, and had no other design in the World but to make himself a sovereign Prince, and to immortalize by such an Invention as this, his Name and Family to all Posterity. Some again that had no great Opinion of his Capacity,

capacity, and consider'd the inimitable Eloquence of that Book, which was said to have been brought from Heaven by an Angel in several Parcels, at more than an hundred times, thought he might be no better than a Tool under the management of wiser Heads than his own, and that the said Book must have been written by one that was a great Master in Style and Language. There were some of the Opinion, that there was a certain learned *Persian* principally concern'd in the whole, who was the true *Gabriel* that ministred to this lying Prophet, so that *Mahomet* was no more than a sort of an *Amanuensis* to him. There were others suspected that there was a *Confederacy* of several at once, and that the Plot was manag'd in several Parts by several Hands; but then it seem'd a little strange that none of these should be brought to make any the least Discovery. Some said therefore that all was the Effect but of a mere Natural Enthusiasm, and that there was a Vein of Poetry and Prophecy, without any adventitious help running through him. But others maintain'd that there was somewhat certainly Supernatural in it, and that was above the Power of Imagination or Disease, of a *Poetical Genius*, or an innate *Prophetick Evesther* (as they call that natural Divination which rises out of the Spirit of the World only:) Yet what this should be, they were as much divided about among themselves; for some would have it that he was a notable Conjuror, Sorcerer or Wizard, and that he had by his Skill in the *Arabian* and *Manichean* Magick bewitch'd the People, and made them believe they saw certain Rolls of Parchment most curiously written upon within brought from Heaven. But a great many others thought he could be properly no Magician, his Education not being very suitable; but that he was rather to be reputed a Person possessed of the Devil and a true *Enurgumen*,

or at least one *obsessed* by him, if not both. These for certain were common Objections against him while he was yet living, and by those that intimately observ'd him; as it appears by the *Complaints* of that Spirit which spake in him, and by him; and by the *Answers* that were then given to those Objections, as in the Name and Person either of God himself, or of a Throne-Angel his Representative. Nay^a some even of his very Followers, as particularly *Abumnasar*, not to mention *Hali*, *Alcabatius*, and others, did suppose his Revelation not to be from any higher Source than from that of the Stars; asserting that he was born a Prophet, by virtue of such a certain Configuration and Position of the Heavens at the Moment of his Birth, which is in effect to own, that there was nothing strictly *Supernatural* or *Miraculous* observable in him; or, that he was either a mere *natural* Enthusiast; or else under the Dominion and Agency of certain Aerial and Astral *Demons*. And hence it is that the Religion of *Mahomet* being properly *Lunatick* or *Lunar*, even as that of Christ in a just and sober Sense may be said to be *Solar* (He being truly call'd the *Sun of Righteousness*) and the Magicians generally assigning to their *Demon* or Spirit, of the Moon, the Name of *Gabriel*: I say hence it is, that the Familiar of *Mahomet*, if he had any such, as he was really *Homo natura Dæmoniacus & Lunaticus*, a Natural Visionary, and one more than ordinarily subject to the Influences of the *Moon*, must have been of the most Inferior and *Lunar Order* of Spirits, to which the Name of *Lilith* among the *Jews*, I suppose, may refer; even of such unto whom the *Hour of Darkness* is given to Rule in, being not able to bear the Light of the *Day*: Whence his great Transportation, boasted of so much, to the Divine

^a Vid. Hotting. Hist. Orient.

Throne upon the counterfeit Cherub *Barak*, was certainly in the *Night* time, as were generally his other Visions and Revelations, let them be either real, imaginary, or pretended. Wherefore according to the Magical Divinity and Philosophy that was receiv'd among the *Manichees* and some Tribes of the *Montanists*, the Spirit or *Dæmon* of *Mahomet* could do nothing more proper than to assume the Name and Character of *Gabriel*; for which he knew both the *Jews* and Christians to have such a particular Veneration, and which might sufficiently also express the very Order he was of to them he had a mind should know it, and give a Key to the Magicians and Astrologers for the advancing his Empire. Thus some will have it, that the Religion and Law of *Mahomet* was a mere *Lunar* Invention, contriv'd, publish'd and propagated under the Dominion and Banner of the Moon, by Nocturnal Spirits descending from out the Center of the said Planet, or *Lunar Demons*: But that also from the Conjunction of *Mars* with *Venus*, (as they will have it) in his Horoscope, the Success thereof by Arms, and the Institution of *Polygamy* and the *Friday-Sabbath* were effected. However, it is certain this is very conformable to the Principles of that Astrology which the *Mahometans* themselves do follow, and which they likewise taught the Christians: And it is notorious that the Astrological Fate which their Founder introduced, but would have to be called Divine, has ever been the greatest Strength to their Arms, as well as Security to their Establishment. By the Books moreover that we have of theirs, it appears, that there have always been from the beginning great Numbers among them of Southsayers and Stargazers, as if the grounds of their Religion were more than ordinarily favourable to them, as indeed they are: And this, if consider'd, is no little Evidence of its ha-

ving been engrafted upon a *Manichean* Stock, as well as having sprung from a *Montanist* Root. There are several other Evidences of this which it were easy to bring, but that we must not here farther enlarge, having done it already we fear too much. The *Mahometan* Paradise may very well pass for a *Montanist* Revelation, whether Literally or Mystically interpreted: So also may their Notion of Spirits in general, and of the Human Soul in particular. But it is pretty remarkable, that as the *Montanists* had their *Pepusa* and *Thymium*, so the *Mahometans* their *Mecca* and *Medina*, more peculiarly consecrated to their Enthusiastick Devotions: And that as the former took their advantage from one Pope's attempting to usurp over the Liberties of the Eastern Churches, so the latter from another Pope's not only attempting, but compleating the Usurpation both over them and all the Churches, by the Claim of *Universal Bishop*, till that time unheard of. Thus the *Ara* of *Mahometism* is found to synchronize with that of Popery, properly so call'd.

9. And hence several of the more rigid Protestants, out of a superstitious Aversion to what they call Popery, even *Luther* himself here not excepted, have certainly made too great advances in favour of *Mahometism* against the Church of *Rome*. They have spoken of the *Mahometans* as more Orthodox and more Catholick, than the Papists; nay, we can remember the time when they even pray'd for their successes over these, and particularly against; the late Emperor; yea thought it no shame to own as much. Not only some of the *Socinians* and other *Unitarians*, have taken Pains in a great measure to apologize for them; but even others too that have a Cloak of Orthodoxy, and would be thought to stand at the greatest distance from such, have been no less faulty herein; as thinking they could never decry

Popery

Popery enough, though even to the undermining of Christianity it self. There are too many instances that might be brought for confirmation hereof; which I here forbear. We have seen all the *Marks* of the Church which *Bellarmino* has given apply'd, not without a pompous shew of Learning, to the Profession of *Islamism*, and the body of Believers in *Mahomet*; which, however perhaps meant, have had no better effect, it is to be fear'd, than to propagate thereby Deism, if not Atheism. Which last is also discover'd to lurk at the very Root of *Mahometism*. For after all that *Sandius*, and others have been able to say in its behalf, and let them study never so long to dress it up in the finest Colours, it is manifest that the God of *Mahomet*, whatever Titles be given to him, is not God; any more than the God of *Manes* or *Confucius*, who pretended to worship a God while they destroy'd his Nature, as taking away his Spirituality. This is plain throughout the *Alcoran*. And this was the Expiration of *Montanism*, or, if you please, its Transplantation.

The CONCLUSION.

A Review of the Montanist Spirit, with some Observations on the whole.

THIS was the Exit of the Spirit of *Montanism*, after having infested the Church for the space of about Four Hundred and Fifty Years; after which the Name of it was in a manner lost, and *Mahometism* being impregnated with its Seed, and built upon its Foundation, succeeded in the manner

that has been declar'd. We have seen that the Rise of it, though this cannot positively be fix'd, was very early; and if not in the very next Generation to the Apostles, yet for certain not long after: That its Appearance was in the Form of an Angel of Light, so that it was hardly possible, for a long while, to discern the Appearance from the Truth, the Counterfeit from the Life: That the Founder of it was a Man of great Austerities and Mortifications, having all the shew of Holiness, and a Conversation not only void of Offence, but very Instructive also and Edifying, for some time at least: That he was not a broacher of any new Article of Doctrine, but every way sound in the Faith; which was also zealously contended for by him and the most eminent of his Followers: That he was not for suffering the least Iota of the Gospel to fall to the Ground; and that his over-straining the Letter of it, and of the rest of the Holy Scriptures, by a too forward Zeal, was the principal Source of his Mistake: That neither Schism nor Heresy was for many Years laid to his Charge; the first Dispute betwixt the Catholick Bishops and him being only about the Nature and Operation of the true Divine Spirit, and the Manifestation of it after such a manner as in him and his Prophetesses: And there being besides this no other difference betwixt him and them, but that he aim'd to exceed them in greater Purity of Discipline, and expected even then *the Times of refreshing from the Presence of the Lord*, that had been predicted by all his Holy Prophets. We have seen how a well meant, but indiscreet Zeal was surpriz'd by the cunning Artifices of Satan, and led on from Step to Step for want of being guarded by Humility; till at length it fell into the quite contrary extreme. How from an affectation of Spiritual Gifts, and neglecting the *more exalted way*, which is *Charity*, or the Bond of the

the Divine Spirit in the Union of the Catholick Church : The Divider and Deceiver easily insinuated himself with most fair Pretences, and led both him and his silly Women captive. How there was a Schism hereupon first form'd *in* the Church, and after that *from* the Church. How this Schism quickly grew up into an *Heresy*, and spread it self East and West. How this Heresy propagated it self, and generated out of its Bowels a numerous Off-spring, that never ceas'd for several Hundreds of Years to make War with the true Church : And how to make up its full and last Complement, it rested not till it came at length to settle either in down right *Anti-christianism*, or in *Atheism*. We have also seen on the part of the Church, how the *remissness of Discipline* in the Churches of *Asia*, for which they had been expressly reprov'd by Christ himself, and severely threaten'd, was the main occasion that was laid hold on by the Spirit of *Montanus*, for bringing so many Evils upon them, to the very *removing* of most of their *Candlesticks out of their place*, as had been foretold ; and all this even under the pretext of restoring the Primitive Discipline and Order, or else of setting up one more pure and perfect in its room. How the true Orthodox and Catholick Bishops were hereby excited to watch more diligently to their Flocks ; to hold fast what they had receiv'd ; to keep a good Discipline, but without straining it too far, lest it should break ; and to *try the Spirits* which appeared, according to the Rules that were given them. And how the very first Councils that occur in Ecclesiastical History, next to those of the Apostles, were these which were purposely held about this Affair ; and the greatest Men in the Church never thought it beneath them to appear and act in a case of this nature, how contemptible soever these pretended Prophets might at first seem, or how ridiculous

soever their Agitations and Paræsttick Motions did to all sober Persons manifest themselves; but did exert their utmost Force and Ability, both for the discovery of all the Wiles of Satan herein, and for the treading down of his Power in Souls, that they might approve themselves good and faithful Shepherds to their great Shepherd.

2. I. In this account of the Rise, Progress, Declension and Extinction of *Montanism*, if we take one general View of it together, and then consider it by parts, we have a very amazing Prospect presented us, of the Infirmary of human Understanding, and of the Power of invisible Agents acting upon it. It doth not appear that *Montanus* was either a Madman or a Fool. If some will have it that he was an *Hypocrite*, they thereby own that he was not openly vicious. But it doth no wise appear that he was at first an *Hypocrite*, what he might afterwards be I know not: He was rather on the contrary, the Reverse thereof even to excess, being an hot Zealot, as it appears, according to the best of his Knowledge, without any Disguise. For 'tis certain he was a Man of Reputation in the Church at his first setting out, and one whose Integrity was not yet sully'd. But so soon as there arose in his Heart but one Grain of spiritual Ambition, even as it were a Mustard Seed, a certain strange *exotick* Spirit enter'd him, and he was presently *πνευματικός*, that is, one driven by the Spirit almost as a Lunatick or a Madman is; this Spirit violently shaking him and imitating a sort of Epileptick Fits, to which the Name of Divine Ecstasies was appropriated. This was the Birth and Rise of the *Montanist* Spirit, that descended not as a *Dove*, but rather as a *Vulture* upon *Montanus* and those who adher'd to him. The Growth and Progress thereof was no less strange. A private Person, born in an obscure Village, of no Learning, and

and of ordinary Parts, by many even accounted no better than a Madman, one of no Interest or Power, of no Complaisance or Condescension, of a most ungrateful Austerity, and withal, of an inflexible Humour; separated from the World, divided from the Church (if not altogether, yet in part) being seiz'd upon by a certain Spirit, after the manner describ'd, whom, without undergoing the ordinary establish'd Probation in the Church, he greedily entertains as the very Spirit of God and Christ; never considering the Rule of that Spirit, which is most exprefs for *the Spirits of the Prophets* to be *subject to the Prophets* that are known and approv'd as such. The Spirit which had seiz'd him makes him suddenly very great, gets him a mighty Renown, attracts to him several of the Rich and the Learned, raises for him a Fund to carry on his Designs, and fully instructs him to erect a new Society and Communion of his own, and to make himself a Patriarch and an Head, laying his Claim both to *Supremacy* and *Infallibility*. Thus he who was not so much as a Priest, by any thing that appears, but a mere Laick, is exalted to the Pontificate, according to this new Order; and therein doth all that is possible to depress the Episcopal Throne, and render it of little or no Authority, in order to the aggrandizing of himself and his Successors. Before the Bond of Catholick Unity was openly violated by him and his Partisans he grew very strong, there being none that made a greater *appearance* of Orthodoxy in Faith, and Holiness in Conversation: And no sooner did he set up his new School or Society of Prophets, but by the Riches of some, and the Learning and Eloquence of others, that were drawn in to cleave to him and his Spirit, he not only maintain'd himself, but got ground apace of the Catholicks. These notwithstanding wanted not for diligence; the spiritual

Governors

Governors strenuously oppos'd the Invasion of this Spirit, which had seiz'd many of their Flocks, and that in a very violent manner; they challeng'd the Spirit speaking through these new Prophets and Prophetesses: And when no other Methods were found effectual, they proceeded at last to the spiritual *Rod*, and deliver'd them up judicially to that very Spirit wherein they were so much pleas'd. Thus the *Montanists* were then condemn'd, as we have seen, by the Catholics. And on the other side the *Montanists*, who were before but a sort of Prophetical Society in the Church, form'd hereupon a new Church of themselves, and condemn'd the Catholics in like manner; that is, those of *Asia*: For at the same time they coveted the Communion of the Western and *African* Churches. This was so manag'd, as they obtain'd from the Pope himself Communicatory Letters. They made themselves great and powerful; the Fame of them soon went out into all Lands; they were accounted by the Multitudes that were converted to them, as the very Apostles of the Lamb; they expected now nothing less than that all the World forsooth, should be brought to own them, and that then the new *Jerusalem* out of Heaven, should come down upon Earth. Their Voices were heard by abundance of simple well-meaning People, as the very Voice of Christ; their Spirit went out into all the Parts of *Asia*, *Europe*, and *Africa*, even unto the ends of the World that then was known; and counterfeited every where the Spirit of Christ: They pretended to be the true Catholick Church, founded upon a Rock, and appropriated all the Marks thereof to themselves: And indeed they had fair at one time for the Establishment of an universal Patriarchate of their own, and for the turning both the *World* and the *Church* at once *upside down*. So frail is human Nature, when left to its own Conduct. And from
such

such flight and contemptible Beginnings may the greatest Revolutions be brought about by the Agency of certain invisible Powers, insinuating into the Minds and Bodies by proper Subjects, and dextrously transforming themselves. And such indeed is the Infirmary of our Understanding, and so exposed are we to the inroads of those Sacred Agents, that we can never be too Humble and Self-diffident, or too earnest with God in Prayer to be preserved from all false Appearances of every kind, and to be kept by him in every Temptation and Incurſion of the Powers of Darkneſs, under what Form ſoever they diſguiſe themſelves. noſt.

3. II. Furthermore it is obſervable from this Account of *Montaniſm*, as alſo of *Manicheiſm* and *Mahometiſm*, deriving in a great meaſure from that Stock, that there might be at the firſt a great deal of *Natural Enthuſiaſm*, which could eaſily join either with an honeſt Zeal, or with Political Deſigns. For it is highly probable, that *Montanus* at his firſt ſetting out, was properly a *Natural Enthuſiaſt*, and had no Political Deſigns in his Head; but had only a good and laudable Zeal for the Reformation of the Church. And this indeed made him a Subject ſo much the more proper to be wrought upon, as he ſeems to have been a Perſon alſo of an indifferent Capacity; though neither Folly nor Madneſs might juſtly be charged upon him. I ſay, his Enthuſiaſtick Conſtitution ſtrengthen'd with a Natural Honesty, he having a moderate degree of good Senſe, with ſtrong Affections, render'd him a moſt proper ſubject to be manag'd by inviſible Springs, for ſuch ends as he little ſurmised; and which, had they been known, he would in all likelihood have as much abhorred and ſtartled at as *Hazael* did. By his *Cholerico-Melancholical* Temper he was led into this Temptation; and he might with *Humility* have been preſerved under it, and have come forth out of

of it a glorious Instrument for the good of the Church, and the general Welfare of Mankind. But he fell, it seems, in the Temptation, even as our first Parents did: And so affecting a sort of *Divinity*, which in his *imagination* he greedily laid hold upon, as pleasant to the Eye of his Fancy, and greatly to be desired to make him Wise; he thereby suffer'd himself to be deluded by that old cunning Serpent, whose chief Seat is in the human Imagination or inferior part of the Soul, into which by ten Thousand Windings and Turnings, he knows how to creep and lurk undiscovered. There are many sorts of Natural Enthusiasm, and there are very few in the World that can be said to be perfectly free of it, as to all the several kinds; even those that are the most Phelmatick are sometimes fermented by it: And all generally have some bias or other, some secret (and almost irresistible) drawings in one or more particulars; some extraordinary Warmth and Confidence as to this or that; some waking Dreams, and some strong Impulses, whereof they can give little or no account. This may not at all times manifest it self, but every one is more or less in danger of it; even they that think themselves at the greatest distance from it, as well as they that in all appearance are nearest to it. For it may break out of a sudden, as I have known it frequently; or it may lurk for a good while undiscerned, and then by degrees open it self; or it may have its Periodical returns in Persons coming and going, as by Fits and Starts, according to the different crasis and disposition of the human Fabrick. Every one therefore will do well to take warning, and considering this Historical Account impartially deliver'd, will see good Reason to pity, rather than laugh at the Infirmary of our Nature; since he himself may be as well seized with this, as the Body with a Fever, or
any

any other Distemper. He that is sick of a Feaver has little reason to boast, because he has not the same sort of Feaver upon him which he has beheld in another; or to think himself in good Health, either because he is not delirious, or at least fancies himself not to be; or because he is not subject to the same violent Shakings and Agitations, or sudden Concussions and Spasms, as others are at seasons. The *Montanist* Enthusiasm differ'd from the *Manichean*, and the *Manichean* both from that and from the *Mahometan*; as also each of these again from it self, as the same was variously branched forth, according to different grounds in Nature, and certain peculiarities of Complexion and Constitution, Habit and Education: And yet both one and the other sprung originally from the same Root, and brought forth in the end the same fatal Fruits. We are much mistaken, if we suppose Feavers of the Mind to be either less numerous, or less dangerous than those of the Body: We are seldom, if ever, out of danger of one or the other. Enthusiastick Affections, as rooted in Nature, and cultivated by most subtile Spirits, may put forth themselves in as great a variety of Symptoms as the Hysterical and Hypochondriacal, if not in greater. But there is no Enthusiasm of any sort without a Feaver in the Soul, though it may be complicated indeed with many other Distempers besides. This seems to be seated chiefly in the Animal Spirits, as that of the Body in the Mass of the Blood: And therefore it is not impossible, but that the same may be very much heighten'd by a certain manner of Living, and by outward Rules or Observances; as it were easy from abundance of instances to shew. That this was the Case both of the first *Montanists* and *Manichees*, little doubt can be made. And the same may be said of several modern Eruptions of this kind, and particularly of a certain School not
very

very far from *Geneva*, set up for this end, that became as a Seminary of young Enthusiasts.

4. III. Hence also it deserves to be remark'd, That it is no more inconsistent with the Wisdom, Justice and Goodness of a Sovereign Providence, to permit these Diseases of the Mind, whether *natural*, or *supernatural*, or *mix'd*; than it is to permit the Diseases of the Body, and other common Infirmities of Life, under the present Constitution of Things; and that as there are certain *general Laws*, whereby Second Causes do act upon *Matter*, whence such and such Effects do necessarily follow; so in like manner there are also some general and eternal Laws, which no less properly than they, may be call'd *Laws of Nature*, whereby those we call *Second Causes* (and they chiefly that are of a superior Order) do act upon *Spirit*, and by a necessary Chain produce such or such Effects, that will appear very odd and surprizing to the generality of Mankind. Now the *Wisdom* of Providence herein is manifested, in the secret ordering of this invisible Chain of Causes and Effects, without offering the least Violence to the Choice of the human Will; and bringing forth out of Things that *appear not*, the most amazing and surprizing *Phænomena*, particularly, in the grand Revolutions of Empires and Religions, which for the most part (at least) have been promoted by some kind of Enthusiasm, as History shews: But above all, in displaying the wonderful Beauty and Excellency of the Christian Religion, and the peculiar Prerogatives of the true Spirit of Christianity, above all the false Pretensions that ever have been, or are in the World at this Day; the which it were most easy to demonstrate by irrefragable Arguments, but that this is already sufficiently done by the Apologists, both Ancient and Modern. The *Justice* of Divine Providence is herein no less visible,
in

In the permission of such Diseases to be inflicted upon our human Nature by invisible Agents, as the same by the Fall is made a Den of Evil Spirits: And as this is wholly transacted according to certain stated Laws, that are most congruous to the Natures of the Beings acted upon, as well as those that are Active; but more especially in that it is either for *Probation* or *Punishment*; and whether it be for one, or for the other, no Person can be a Sufferer without his own Consent or Fault, but may possibly be even a *gainer* thereby, as from the Lives of some that have been try'd after this manner could clearly be shewed. And lastly, The *Goodness* of the sovereign Disposer of all Things doth herein eminently shine forth, in that while he punisheth the Perverse hereby according to the perversity of their own Hearts, and searcheth out what is in the Heart of every Man, he forgetteth not *Mercy* even in the midst of Judgment; but, considering whereof we are made, hath regard to the State and Disposition of every Soul whatever, and bringeth often the same Good out of these as out of bodily Diseases: And in that many are by this means stirred up to greater Watchfulness, and to the Exercise of all Christian Graces and Virtues. For which end it was necessary that Tentations of this Nature, and even sometimes positive Infections thereof, as *Physical Evils*, should come upon Man while he abides here, as in a State of Probation; that the *Patience of Faith* might have its perfect Work; and that every one, both he that is tempted (after this manner) and he that is kept from thus being tempted, may learn hence to work out his Salvation with *Fear and Trembling*. As for all the Objections against the Divine Goodness in this whole Affair, they will utterly vanish, if it be consider'd that the Persons so visited are either *Accessory* or *not Accessory* to these *Enthusiastick Passi-*

ons: For if the first, then they do but reap the Fruit of what they themselves have sown; and if the last, then are they secure enough that this shall never be imputed to them for Sin, which they could not help: Yea we need not fear but all of this kind shall rather work together for good unto them, after the manner of other Temporal Evils and Sufferings. Thus the Ways of God are equal; but if any one, through Pride or Vain-Glory, through Rashness or Curiosity, or the like, be really Accessary to his own Delusion, and to all what he thereupon suffers; let him not seek to cast the Blame upon God, but be content to take all the Shame to himself. And if this should not work any good in the end, to him, but he should be totally deliver'd up to the Devices of his own Heart, and the lying Inspirations of treacherous Spirits; yet it may be a means still of much Good to others, and a Warning to take heed, lest they also be overtaken with the same Temptation. But whether it be one or the other God is to be justified, who deceiveth no Man, neither can deceive any, without denying his own Nature; and who is both able and willing to bring forth Good out of Evil, as he will undoubtedly do in this case.

§. IV. As all other, both Physical and Moral Evils, have ever been in the World since Man's Apostacy in Paradise; but yet at certain Times, and in certain Places, have more visibly and eminently put forth themselves than at others: And as Evil Spirits have never been without a Power of tempting Mankind, and of inspiring into Souls evil Thoughts, and know well enough to fool all, but the *truly* Humble, the greatest Politicians themselves not excepted, with false Promises and extravagant Imaginations; but yet at some Times, and in some Places, have more *openly* appear'd than at other Times, and in other Places, managing the
Affairs

Affairs of their Kingdom among Men; even so there may be also observed certain *periodical* Returns or *Revolutions* of the Enthusiastick Passion, or this Feaver of the Spirits; certain times more appropriated to it, and more famous for it than others, and so likewise certain Places more generally and violently infected than others with it. Nothing is more plain than this from History, out of which numerous Instances hereof might easily be given. How *Montanism* revolv'd in *Manicheism* and *Mahometism*, has here in part been shewed; after which there will be no need to mention other *Revolutions* of it, which every one with the least application will be able to discern for himself. How *Phrygia* and *Arabia* were as the two Seminaries of this Contagion, whether it were from some natural Aptitude and Disposition peculiar to those Places, or from the righteous Judgment of God upon the Inhabitants for their sinning against the true Spirit, or from both of these, the Matter of Fact is clear that so it was; and that also at this very Day too there are certain Places known to be more subject than others to the infection of this spreading Evil. The circumstances of Place, Time, and Person may for certain do a great deal in the particular modification of all demoniacal Affections and Operations: But this doth not hinder but that Dæmons, and every sort of Spirits, may still act upon human Nature, according to stated and general Laws. And it may be very possible according to these, to account for all the *Revolutions* or *Migrations* that can be observ'd of this kind; as also for the Rise, Progress, State, Declination and Extinction, of all the Sects and Heresies that ever have been, or are in the World, yea, that ever also shall be; and to demonstrate at the same time the supereminent Prerogative of the Christian Religion above all the most specious Pretences and

Counterfeits that the Apostate Spirits with all their cunning are able to invent.

6. V. Whether the Enthusiastick Passion be consider'd as a Disease of the Mind and Spirits, Natural or Supernatural, or Mix'd, or else as properly *Præternatural*; it appears manifestly from this Account of the *Phrygian* (pretended) Prophets and their Successors, that it is now the same as it was then, (Circumstances only allow'd for) as much as a Fever is now the same as it was in the Days of *Hippocrates*; consequently it requires now the same *Remedies* to be apply'd to it, as it did then, and will continually require the same to the end of the World. Since nothing can be truer than *Solomon's* Observation, of nothing being New under the Sun, as hereto particularly refer'd. The Scenes may be chang'd, and new Names and new Masques brought upon the Stage; but under all, we have much the same Tale acted over again, and have still behind the Curtains the same Operators and busy Dramatists, that are dextrous in all the Arts of deluding silly Mankind. This præternatural Passion, as moved by invisible Springs, will always be found to be the same, whatever Masque it may put on; for any Masque can be made to fit it; and it can transform it self into any Shape, and yet not lose its inward Form: It can be all things, and nothing. The *Manichean* Enthusiasm is a notable Proof of this. Indeed this did not so early appear among the *Montanists*, but 'tis plain, the Root of the Matter was in them, and that there was a settled Correspondence and Confederacy betwixt the Spirit of *Montanus* and that of *Manes*; or, if you had rather, betwixt the Spirits that presided in each of their Societies or Parties.

7. VI. It is moreover observable, that as to the three pretended *Paraclets*, *Montanus*, *Manes* and *Mahomet* (in whatever Sense that Name may have been given to the First) there was something very peculiar

liar to each of them, as well as *common* to them all; and that also both what was Peculiar and what was Common, with respect to that kind of enthusiastic Passion which seiz'd them, do by several clear *Notes* evidently manifest, notwithstanding all the Policy and Cunning of Satan, their great disagreement with the true Divine *Paraclet*, or Holy Ghost; as from the Seventh and Two last Articles may be seen. It will appear hence also, that tho' the Devil can indeed Ape every thing that is of God, yet having done his utmost, he falls infinitely short of the Original; and doth but the more set out the Beauty and Lustre of the wonderful Oeconomy of God's Spirit in his Church, and the vast Disparity there is betwixt his Visitations to humble and purified Souls, and the extravagant Dreams of an heated Imagination, or the IncurSIONS of masquerading Spirits.

8. VII. How the evil *Demons* of *Saturn*, *Mercury* and *Mars*, might take up these Three, and their Disciples, and invisibly manage the whole Plot with such Tools as these, it would not be hard after this to suppose. By which *Demons*, I mean those that usurping to themselves Divine Honour, got themselves, by the help of their Inspirations and Oracles, to be worshipped of the Heathens under those Names. That there was a very sensible Agreement betwixt the *Pagans* Enthusiasms and *theirs*, there is hardly now any room for doubt: But whoever would be farther satisfy'd hereof may but consult the excellent *Answer to the History of Oracles*, newly publish'd, and he will have no reason to repent his Labour. Hence the Original of *Manichean Paganism* and *Mahometan Anti-christianism*, and of the grand Mystery also of *Atheism* working in them both, may be rightly accounted for. Hence as they derive their Pedigree from a *Montanist* Stock, it will easily appear what that Tree must have been, which hath produced such

Fruits, and what is to be thought of every Graft or Branch thereof, in all its Generations and Peregrinations to this very Day.

9. Many other Observations there are upon this Subject that will be obvious to ever Reader, which I mention not; let every one make the Application as he shall see reason for it, my part is only that of an Historian; if I have tolerably acquitted my self, and followed the Truth as near as could be at such a distance, I shall be glad. If I am mistaken in any Particular, it is not for want of love to the Truth; nor shall I be unthankful to any that will be at the pains to set me right. Had there been any Writings of the *Montanists* remaining at this Day, out of which I could have taken my Accounts, I should not have conceal'd any thing that they could have said for themselves; but would have made as free use of them as of those of the Catholick Fathers: And having laid both of them together with all the Candour and Impartiality possible, I would have left the Truth to plead for it self. I am very sensible how imperfect this Narration must be for want of sufficient Materials, but as it is, I am persuaded that it may not be unuseful; and that the sober (at least) and the humble may be confirm'd by it to walk in the *ancient Paths*, and to keep the Unity of the Spirit in the Bond of the Church.

THE

THE
NEW PRETENDERS
TO
PROPHECY
Examin'd,

AND THEIR
PRETENCES

Shewn to be
Groundless and False.

By N. SPINCKES, M. A.

Then the Lord said unto me, The prophets prophesie lies in my Name: I sent them not, neither have I commanded them, nor spake unto them: they prophecy unto you a false vision and divination, and a thing of nought, and the deceit of their heart, Jerem. xiv. 14.

Si vera evaserint promissa ejus omnia, hinc prophetiæ ejus veritatem percipiemus; quod si in aliquo ipsorum, vel minutissimo mendax fuerit; hinc mendacem eum esse cognoscemus.

Maimon. Port. Mos. p. 19.

THE
NEW PLETTERS

THE
New Pretenders
TO
PROPHECY
EXAMINED, &c.

SEEING all the Care taken by ^a the *French* Congregation at the *Savoy*, and ^b those in other Places after their Example, to give a due Character of the Three *Camisars* that appeared here under the Name of Prophets, has not been able to put a stop to their Pretences, nor sufficiently caution'd others against hearkning to, and being deluded by them; but the Infection is so far spread, that ^c great Boasts are made of the Numbers of their Disciples, and not a few are declared to be actually inspired: And forasmuch as Detachments of these Pretenders are sent abroad through the Nation, it cannot therefore be improper to enter a Caveat against their farther Proceedings, by letting the World see how vain and groundless their Pretences are, and what abundant Reason all well meaning Christians have to beware of being ensnared by them. As has been already

^a *Account of the Lives and Behaviour of the Three French Prophets, &c.* p. 10, 14, 15.

^b P. 17.

^c *Sir R. B's Impartial Account of the Prophets.*

done to very good purpose by the Right Reverend Bishop of *Exon*, Mr. *Chishull*, Mr. *Hoadly*, and by Mr. *Calamy*, who was more especially concern'd to do it, by reason of the greater Interest these Pretenders have ^d amongst his Party. Yet this hinders not but that there may be, and indeed is, greater need that their Writings be more particularly considered, and the Weakness of them expos'd, whereby to make People the more sensible of the great Mischief of giving Ear to them, and the heavy Judgments they may possibly bring upon themselves by it in this World, and the Hazard they incur of everlasting Destruction in the other.

Almighty God declares himself to be highly incensed against those Prophets amongst the *Jews*, who ^e *ran when he had not sent them, and prophesied when he had not spoken to them.*

He complains of such their over-forwardness as an abuse of his Name; and ^f foretels the heavy Destruction they would hereby bring upon themselves, even till they were utterly consumed. *Then the Lord said unto me, the Prophets prophesy Lies in my Name; I sent them not, neither have I commanded them, neither spake unto them: They prophesy unto you a false Vision and Divination, and a thing of Nought, and the Deceit of their Heart. Therefore thus saith the Lord concerning the Prophets that prophesy in my Name, and I sent them not, yet they say, Sword and Famine shall not be in this Land, by Sword and Famine shall these Prophets be consumed.* Because of their deceiving the People by a pretended Commis-sion, when really they had none, and their Doctrine was not according to the Will of God; he assures them, that they of all Men should not escape the heavy Judgments that had been denounced against their Nation.

^d *Relation of the Dealings of God to J. L. p. 17.*

^e *Jer. xxiii. 21.*

^f *Ch. xiv. 14, 15.*

And what reason can our present Pretenders have to promise themselves that the Almighty will not proceed in the same Method with them, if they take upon them to abuse his holy Name as grossly as these did?

It is true, they do not preach Peace to our People, as those false Prophets did to the *Jews*. On the contrary, their cry is, of Misery, and Sorrow, and Desolation, and Destruction to come upon our Land, and especially upon this famous City. And indeed there is too much reason to fear the heavy Wrath of God hanging over us, because of our multiplied Abominations, which may justly provoke him to pour forth his Indignation upon us, and *persecute us with the Sword, with the Famine and with the Pestilence, and deliver us to be removed to all the Kingdoms of the Earth, and to be a Curse, and an Astonishment, and a Hissing, and a Reproach among all Nations*. But yet this will by no means warrant any upon their own Heads to threaten these, or any other like Judgments in the Name of the Lord. They know not how long Almighty God may be pleased, for wise Reasons known to himself only, to bear with a sinful People, when highly provoked by them; and therefore are no better than false Witnesses and deceitful Monitors, when they denounce speedy Punishments, which they have no assurance will be executed accordingly. And if at any time together with their Predictions and Admonitions, they take occasion to intermix any false Doctrines to the Dishonour of God and the Prejudice of our holy Religion, this is an undoubted sign they are not of his sending, nor ought to be attended to by such as have a regard to their own, either present or eternal Welfare. And they must expect to be one Day called to a strict Account for such groundless Pretences; which, howsoever they may impose upon their deluded Disciples by them, are all naked and open to the searching Eye of God,

and will most certainly be charged upon them in his due time, perhaps in this World, but inevitably, unless a serious and timely Repentance prevent it, in that which is to come.

If themselves be deceived they are very dangerous Guides, and will, though unwittingly, be the unhappy Occasion of ruining both themselves and those who adhere to them; according to that of our Blessed Saviour, *They be blind leaders of the Blind. And if the Blind lead the Blind, both shall fall into the Ditch.* Which I mention as a just Caution to all who are fond of New Lights, that they do not receive Impressions too easily, without making a due inquiry into whatsoever Notions they imbibe, not suffering themselves to be wrought upon either by their own Levity and Inconsideration, or by the Artifices of others; but especially that they never take upon them to instruct others in any thing, but what they have a sufficient Commission for, least otherwise they meet with the dreadful Fate of the *blind leaders of the Blind.*

But then the case is abundantly more inexcusable with such as knowingly and designedly seek to propagate any false Doctrine, or to deceive their Hearers into an Opinion of their being entrusted with some peculiar Message from Almighty God, when in truth they know it is not so. This is to affront God to a very high degree, and may reasonably be expected to bring down a terrible load of Vengeance upon them. *Behold I am against the Prophets, saith the Lord, that steal my words, every one from his Neighbour.* Which seems to mean such as take up the words of the true Prophets, saying as they do, *The Lord saith*; or else, that make use of the Declarations of these Prophets, yet do it not sincerely, but either intermix their own Fictions with them, in hopes of gaining Credit to them

^a Matth. xv. 15.

^b Jer. xxiii. 30.

hereby, or at least wrest those Sayings to their own purposes, how much soever besides the true Intent and Design of them. ⁱ *Behold I am against the Prophets, saith the Lord, that use their Tongues, and say he saith; that is, either whose Tongues are guided by themselves in their Prophecies; not by God as the Tongues of the true Prophets were, or perhaps who speak only from themselves what their own Fancy dictates, or what may be serviceable for carrying on their own Ends, but yet have the hardness to proclaim it in the Name of the Lord, as if deliver'd to them by his Spirit,* ^k *Behold I am against them that prophesy false Dreams, saith the Lord, and do tell them, and cause my People to err by their Lies and by their lightness, yet I sent them not, nor commanded them; therefore they shall not profit my People at all, saith the Lord.* Which words are taken to relate to those who pretended to Extasies and Raptures, and counterfeit Revelations, whereas in truth, God had not spoken to them, nor sent any Message at all by them.

Here we see God declares his Aversion to those several sorts of false Prophets, that he will not look favourably upon them, but will set his Face against them to destroy them. He will be against them, and whilst he is so, they must unavoidably be in a deplorable and desperate Condition. So that in these words is plainly supposed, that there have been, and consequently may yet be, false Pretenders to the Gift of Prophecy; and it is moreover declared, that God will never countenance such, whosoever they be, but will be sure to account with them for their gross abuse of his Name: A notable instance whereof we have in the Prophet *Hananiah*, who having deluded the People with false hopes of a speedy Deliverance from the *Babylonish* Captivity, was not only reprehended for his Presumption

ⁱ Ver. 31.

^k Ver. 32.

herein by the Prophet *Jeremiah*, but threatned to be punished for it with Death; which accordingly came to pass within the space prefix'd for it. ¹ *Then saith the Prophet Jeremiah unto Hananiah the Prophet, hear now Hananiah, the Lord hath not sent thee, but thou makest this People to trust in a Lie. Therefore thus saith the Lord, behold I will cast thee from off the Face of the Earth: this Year thou shalt die, because thou hast taught Rebellion against the Lord. So Hananiah the Prophet died the same Year, in the seventh Month.* He died by the Hand of the Lord as a judicial Punishment for his Wickedness, in pretending a Divine Authority for his own Inventions, and for a Warning to such as should come after, that none might ever presume to offend in the same manner with him. And many other places there are in Scripture, wherein is manifestly shewn the great Evil and Danger of professing to be sent with a Message from Almighty God, when no such Charge is given. But I forbear to mention these at present, and beg leave to apply this Consideration to our present Pretenders to a Prophetick Spirit, to put them in mind what pernicious Enemies they are to their own, as well as others Souls. Whether they be deceivers or deceived; or whether, as is most probable, of both sorts, some being ensnared by the Artifices and Impostures of others, who purposely set themselves to impose upon them: In either case they have need to attend carefully to their Ways and repent of and avoid these inexcusable Delusions.

I do not deny but God, who spake of Old by the Mouth of the Prophets, can as easily do it now by others, if it shall please his Divine Majesty: He can still as easily commission whomsoever to deliver his Messages to Mankind, as ever he did *Moses* or *Samuel*, or any of the other Prophets amongst the Jews, or the Apostles and others of the Primitive

¹ Jer. xxviii. 15, 16, 17.

Christians. And I see no reason to doubt but he would yet be as ready todo it as ever, if there were a like occasion for it; for I know no ground to conclude the Spirit of Prophecy to be so intirely extinct as that it may not quickly be reviv'd, if we had not a standing Revelation which makes it not necessary.

But then I must add, that there appears no reason to believe our pretended Prophets to be at this time endued with any such Spirit: And I am sure they ought not to be received as such, without very good Evidence of their being what they pretend.

It is the Apostle St. John's Direction, and what all are concerned in Prudence, as well as Duty, to put in practice, that whensoever any New Teachers arise we diligently examine their Pretences, to discover whether they be from God or not, before we give up our selves to their direction. *Beloved,* says the Apostle, *"believe not every Spirit, but try the Spirits whether they are of God; for many false Prophets are gone out into the World."* Which Admonition was given upon occasion of the false Prophets and Teachers that had arisen in those early Days of our Religion, and endeavoured to seduce the first Christians from the true Doctrine of the Gospel delivered by our Saviour and his Apostles: against whose Artifices and Insinuations, if they had not taken care to guard themselves, they would have been liable to Delusions of divers kinds.

And the same danger remaining still amongst our selves, who have known *many false Prophets that have gone out into the World*, whose Impostures have in a little time been detected to their own Confusion, there is great reason yet to beware of all that set up with this Pretence, how fair an Appearance soever they may make; and not to give Ear to them without full and clear Evidence born to them. As

those that come at any time with a truly divine Message, are upon no account to be slighted and neglected, but carefully attended to, and their Directions followed: So no less on the other hand, they that come of themselves and vent only their own Imaginations, are watchfully to be avoided, as no better than Cheats and Impostors. And whether this be not the case of our present Pretenders, I come now more particularly to enquire: And to this end I shall lay down, and endeavour to prove, these four following Propositions.

- I. It is not to be thought that Prophecy should now be revived after so long an intermission, unless to introduce some New and very important Revelation.
- II. And in that case it were justly to be expected, that the Pretenders to this Gift should come with such Credentials as might satisfy all unprejudiced Persons of their Divine Mission.
- III. The accomplishment of their Predictions must bear Testimony to them.
- IV. And lastly, They must be sure to teach nothing unworthy of God, or inconsistent with, or disagreeing from the standing Revelation of the Gospel,

And if upon enquiry it appear that our modern Pretenders fail in any, much more in each of these respects, a very little Consideration will suffice to shew what Opinion ought to be had of them, and how little regard is due either to themselves or their Predictions.

ⁿ By Prophecy, as far as I can collect from Scripture, we are to understand a divine Order or Impulse, commanding or moving, either to deliver

ⁿ Ἐμμενέως γὰρ ὅτιν ὁ προφήτης ἐνδοθεν ἰσχυρῶς τὰ
ἀεχλέα φ' ὁεῖ. Phil. de Præm. & Poen.

some Message from God to Mankind, or to Worship and Praise him in a Supernatural manner. The former of these, to deliver some Message, was the usual Business of the Prophets in the Old Testament. *Adam, Noah, Abraham* and the Patriarchs, were immediately taught by God what Worship and Service, what Duty and Obedience he required of Mankind, and were accordingly commanded to instruct their Posterity how to perform the same aright; and sometimes to foretel the Vengeance that was to ensue upon their Disobedience, as *Noah* in particular did the Destruction of the Old World. *Moses* was not only appointed by God to deliver his Law to the *Jews*, but was endued also with a power of foretelling Things to come. And the rest of the Prophets afterwards were to remind that People of the Doctrines given them in charge, and in order to their better observance of them, to forewarn them what would be the certain consequence of their Obedience or Disobedience; and to that end to predict things that should certainly come to pass, and many of them a long time after.

This, I say, was their chief business under that Oeconomy, yet not so entirely but that sometimes they are said to have prophesied in the other Sense, as for instance, 1 Sam. 10. 5, 6. *After that thou shalt come to the Hill of God, where is the Garrison of the Philistines: and it shall come to pass when thou art come thither to the City, that thou shalt meet a Company of Prophets coming down from the High Place, with a Psaltery, and a Tabret, and a Pipe, and a Harp before them, and they shall prophecy. And the Spirit of the Lord shall come upon thee, and thou shalt prophecy with them, and shalt be turned into another Man.* And ver. 10, 11, 12. *When they came thither to the Hill, behold a Company of Prophets met him, and the Spirit of God came upon him, and he prophesied among them. And it came to pass when all that knew him before time, saw, that behold, he prophesied among the Prophets, then the*
People

People said one to another, *What is this that is come unto the Son of Kish? Is Saul also among the Prophets? And one of the same place answered, and said, But who is his Father? That is his Master or Teacher, namely, God Almighty, who had so suddenly wrought this miraculous Change in him. Therefore it became a Proverb, Is Saul also among the Prophets? Such Prophets also were David and Asaph, and the rest of the Psalmists, mentioned in the admirable foregoing Sermon, p. 31.*

The prophecying mentioned in the New Testament, was more commonly of this sort: Never was the Divine Will so plainly and so fully published to Mankind as by our Saviour and his Apostles. But their preaching is very rarely, if ever, called by the Name of prophecying, as that of praising God by Inspiration is frequently, and especially in 1 Cor. 14. But then others plainly prophesied by way of Prediction, as ° *Agabus*. So St. Paul^p, but especially St. John throughout his Revelation. And this Gift continued^q for some Ages in the Church as well as that of Miracles, as being necessary at the first plantation of the Gospel, and highly useful in order to its better Propagation. But the Gospel being once well settled and establish'd these Gifts both gradually declined, and at length were very rarely, if ever heard of more; as is justly observed^r by the Reverend Dr. *Hickes*, in his foregoing learned Sermon. And that in none of these forementioned Senses the Gift of Prophecy is now revived amongst our present Pretenders to it, I hope will be suffi-

° Acts ii. 28. and xxi. 11.

^p Acts xx. 29, 30. and 27. 10, 22.

^q Eccl. Smyrn. Epist. de Polycarpi Martyrio. §. 16. Just. M. Dial. e. Tryph. p. 208. Orig. c. Cels. l. 7. p. 337. B. Cypr. Ep. 39. ed. Oxon. Euseb. Hist. Eccl. l. 3. c. 37. l. 5. c. 7. & c. 58. Dodwel. Dissert. Cypr. iv. *Preceding History of Montanism*, p. 135. and *Smyth's Select Discourses*, p. 263, &c.

^r P. 51, 52.

ently evident from what I have to offer, though I shall apply my self more especially to their imaginary Predictions. To this end I proceed to my first Proposition.

I. *It is not to be thought that Prophecy should now be revived, after so long an intermission, (as is shew'd in the Sermon) unless to introduce some New and very important Revelation.* Almighty God, who is infinitely Wise, and acts always upon the best Grounds, is not wont peculiarly to exert his Power, except it be upon a good occasion, and when he has some noble End to serve by it. He is never backward to manifest his love to Mankind, though in a very miraculous manner, when he sees it necessary for his own Glory and their Good. But he is not so profuse of his supernatural Influences as to bestow them where there is no want of them, nor any expectation of their turning to a good account. And it is therefore a vain Imagination to think that he will send forth his Prophets to preach in his Name, and denounce severe Judgments as from him, when yet they have nothing to teach but what may be far better learned from the Holy Scriptures, nothing to threaten but what is due at all Times, and in all Nations, when, and where People provoke him by their Sins with a high Hand.

Were not the Gospel a sufficient Rule both of Faith and Manners, or were it not well known amongst us, or were the divine Authority of it not duly testified, no wonder if God in either of these Cases, should of his abundant Goodness commission other new Apostles to supply these defects. As he conversed immediately with the Patriarchs, both before and after the Flood, and sent *Moses* and the Prophets to the *Jews* with full Evidence of their Mission from him, and afterwards enabled the Apostles and Disciples of our Lord to publish the glad Tidings

Tidings of the Gospel, '*Not with enticing words of Man's Wisdom, but in demonstration of the Spirit, and of Power*, whereby to convince the Nations to whom they were sent, of the Truth of their Doctrine, that they spake not of themselves, but *as they were moved by the Holy Ghost*; continuing the same Gifts in some measure, amongst the Christians of the first Ages: So there is no doubt to be made, but he can vouchsafe the same Power to others in these latter Times, if he should see a like Occasion for it. Nor do I think it incredible, that if Persons went amongst ignorant Heathens to preach the Doctrine of the Gospel to them *pure and uncorrupt*, God Almighty might in some measure grant them such supernatural Assistance as should seem requisite for procuring the entertainment of their Doctrine, and this not only by the secret Operations of his Spirit upon the Minds of their Auditors, but by those more apparent instances of his divine Influence, Prophecy and Miracles. This I say seems not incredible, though it is more than we can be certain of.

But what is this to the Case of our Pretenders? who do not set themselves to preach to ignorant Pagans, that had never been in the least acquainted with the Gospel, but in a Christian Nation where our Saviour's Name is constantly own'd, his Religion publicly professed and encouraged; and it is by *the Faith once deliver'd to the Saints* that we attain to eternal Life. So long as we have his Word in our Hands and in our Hearts, which was abundantly confirm'd at its first Promulgation '*by Signs and Wonders, and divers Miracles and Gifts of the Holy Ghost*, we have no need of any New Revelation to be preached amongst us, nor reason to expect any like Testimony to be born to it, as was to that.

^c 1 Cor. ii. 4.

^c Heb. ii. 4.

Or if there were, What do we meet with of this nature in the present Case? ^u What unheard of Doctrine are we now taught? What hidden Mysteries have we unfolded? What greater Discoveries of *Life and Immortality* than was long since brought to light by the Gospel? What clearer manifestations of the Divine Will than were made by our Blessed Saviour, and his Apostles?

These words of Mr. Lacy in the Preface to the second Part of his Warnings, ^w *You come not here to be taught ordinary Duties*, call upon us to give Attention as to some new, sublime, unusual Discovery. But whosoever sets himself to search into the Warnings here given will find nothing answerable to such an expectation: ^x Sorrow for Sin and Amendment of Life which they so frequently call for, are no strange Duties, but what all know themselves indispensably oblig'd to, though few take care to practise them as they ought.

But we are told farther, that they come to make way for a glorious State of the Church, ^y *Far above what it has ever been, more adorned, more visited with the Spirit, even than in the first planting of the Gospel*; ^z *a glorious Reign upon Earth*; ^a *a Kingdom to be ushered in with a great and terrible Day*; ^b *everlasting Esponsals to be between God and his Beloved*; ^c *a new Creation with a seminal growing Principal*; ^d *a Kingdom of Jesus Christ which themselves shall see with their own Eyes*; ^e *a Glory on Earth, a Kingdom reigning over all here*; ^f *a glorious State of the Church, which is called Christ's Kingdom*; and yet it is to be administred by

^u I teach you no new Doctrine. Warnings, Part 2. p. 102.

^w P. vii.

^x Cry from the Desert, p. 30, 31, 34, 35, 39, 80, 105, 107, 119. Warnings, Part 1. p. 70, 77, 78, 79, 100. Part 2. p. 3, 7, 25, 61, 68, 70, 80, 85, 93. ^y P. 28.

^z Warnings, Part 1. p. 19.

^a P. 40.

^b Part 2. p. 28.

^c P. 141.

^d P. 192.

^e Part 3 p. 140.

^f P. 61.

the Holy Ghost : ^g The Restitution of all Things to their original Beauty, and Man to his original Felicity in God ; ^h a glorious State of the Church on Earth, which hitherto has not been ; ⁱ the Accomplishment of the Promises that concern the Royal Glory of Christ ; ^k a Deliverance of the Creatures from a Bondage which has not yet been seen, and must needs be to come ; ^l a beautiful Scheme to be formed till the Perfection of Beauty has its finishing stroke. They promise ^m great Blessings reserved for these latter Days ; ⁿ a Jerusalem bounded only by Heaven, and whose Gates are magnificent, and her Fortresses inaccessible ; ^o a new House, a House to receive all Nations, a City and a Kingdom that has Foundations ; and that ^p all their Opposers shall be confounded. ^q Here, they say, is the Time wherein the perfection and main design of creating the World is to be unfolded to the Children of Men. They complain of the Clergy, ^r that they do not teach nor proclaim this approaching Kingdom ; crying ^r where, where's the Expectation taught of his coming again ? They tell us, ^r The Apostles, they mentioned his coming again ; the Day of the Lord, the Day of being revealed from Heaven : And apply what is said of Christ's coming with ten thousand of his Saints to execute Vengeance upon them that had used hard Speeches against him, ^u to those that do not come in to join with the little contemptible Children he employs ; assuring us ^w his Throne shall be established. And this they make the great End of their appearing ; and call upon all Men diligently to prepare for it.

Here therefore I would ask these two plain Questions.

1. Supposing it true, that such a glorious State

^g Part 3. p. 24.

^h P. 71.

ⁱ Ibid.

^k P. 116.

^l P. 127.

^m Part 1. p. 22.

ⁿ Part 3. p. 48.

^o P. 138.

^p Part 2. p. 168.

^q Part 3. p. 28.

^r P. 58.

^r P. 31.

^r Ibid.

^u Part 1. p. 51.

^w Part 3. p. 51.

as they talk of were now approaching, and as near at hand as they would have it, yet still what need of a New Revelation for it. If it have been already revealed in Scripture, as they pretend, why should not that be sufficient Notice of it? Or why should it be thought that God would raise up a New set of Prophets divinely inspired, for the discovery of what he had caused to be authentically published to the World long before? All farther Revelation of this nature must seem to be superseded by what our Saviour and his Apostles had left behind them touching this Point. And so much Mr. *Lacy* himself owns, were it not that he fancies the Scriptures that should bear this Testimony, to have been either industriously concealed, or fraudulently corrupted. For thus he speaks, * *As to Doctrine; if those Texts in Scripture were not concealed and corrupted; if they were preached; if they were diligently enforced as they ought to be; as to Doctrine, the Necessity [of this New Dispensation] would cease.* Here therefore it is incumbent upon him to prove, that the Scriptures are not constantly made known to our People, that they do not enjoy them full and entire, or at least, that in all the Doctrines contained in them relating to Faith and Holiness of Life they are not interpreted to them and recommended to their serious perusal and observation, in their true and genuine Sense, and as the Catholick Church of Christ has generally understood them. It is not enough to make groundless Reflections upon, and scandalous Declamations against the Clergy, as Enemies to the Power of Godliness, and the Interest of Christ and his Gospel, as is too usual throughout all the Writings of these Men, but they should first make out the Truth of this malicious Charge, before they expect to have it believed. And till this is done, which they may rest satisfied

* Warn. Part 3. p. 31.

they never will be able to do, by Mr. *Lacy's* own Confession, there is no need of any such Prophets to be sent amongst us. But I would again ask farther,

2. What Proof do they give of the truth of their Revelation, that such a glorious State as they dream of is about to commence? All I can observe is, that they seem to value themselves upon several vain Predictions, and frivolous pretended Miracles, (which shall be considered in due place) and threaten Woes and Judgments, and Misery and Destruction, Plagues and Famines, and sudden Desolations, which any others might denounce as well as they; and which divers senseless Enthusiasts have from time to time, and several of them not very many Years since foretold, without any better Evidence of a divine Commission for it than these shew for theirs. They boast that ¹ *this Mission of his Servants shall be witnessed to by Signs and Wonders from Heaven, by a Deluge of Judgments on the Wicked, universally throughout the World, as Famine, Pestilence, Earthquakes, Fire from Heaven, Darkness, Tempests,* ² *the most universal and most desolating Judgments that ever were upon the Earth since the Creation of it.* But these Menaces are no Proof of their being sent from God, but what any Impostors may make use of as well as they: As many others have done before them, who no doubt believed themselves upon as sure ground as these do, or can, and yet have lived to see how much they were deluded and deceived.

The *Quakers*, who are so far from being in the right, that they have learnt to slight the Scriptures and despise the Sacraments, and undervalue our Saviour's Mediation, and so deserve not the Name of Christians, are well known to have begun much after the same manner these do. They professed

¹ *Pref to the Cry from the Desert.* p. xxi.

² *Sir R. B's Answer to several Treatises.* p. 14, 64.

themselves, ^a to go with a Message, and to have a Word from the Lord, as the Prophets and Apostles had and did; and to have the same Power, Understanding, Knowledge, and immediate Revelation from Heaven that the Apostles were in; to be come to that the Apostles were in, the Spirit of Christ, the Spirit of God, and to witness immediate Revelation, and have the same infallible Spirit the Apostles had; affirming, that they who own the Prophets, Christ and the Apostles will own their Writings, which are given forth by the same Spirit and Power. And again, You may as well condemn the Scriptures to the Fire as our Queries. Our giving forth Papers and printed Books, is from the immediate eternal Spirit of God. You are now answered from **THE MOUTH OF THE LORD**. They declare themselves able ^b to discern who are Saints, who are Devils, and who Apostates, without speaking ever a word; and ^c perfectly to know the true State of all Things ^d; with a great deal more to the same purpose, as exactly alike as can be imagined, to what we meet with in these present Pretenders. They undertook, though very fallily, ^e to make strange Discoveries, ^f and to denounce Judgments in the Name of the Lord; ^g to curse those that differed from them, and ^h to foretel the near approach of the Day of Judgment.

And long before these, in the time of Edward III. Jo. de Rupefciffa, of the Order of the Minorites, foretold ⁱ great Wars and Defolations to happen in

^a G. Fox's Journal, and Great Mystery, and other Tracts cited in the Snake in the Grass, Sect 5. p. 28, 29, 30. and Paget's Herefseogr. p. 136, 137. Defence of the Snake, p. 50, &c.

^b Snake, Sect. 6. p. 33.

^c P. 34.

^d P. 35, 36, &c.

^e P. 50, 51, 52, 53.

^f P. 53, 54, 55, 56. and Sect. 20. p. 229.

^g Sect. 18. p. 206, 207, 208, 111, 214.

^h Fanatick Hist. printed at London for J. Symons, 1660. l. 2. c. 5. p. 119.

ⁱ Prophet, J. de Rupef. in Append. ad Fascic. rer. exper. & fugiend. p. 494.

France, and mighty Changes and dreadful Slaughters: But that soon after Peace should be settled throughout the World for a thousand Years. And yet never were more *Wars and rumours of Wars* than have been since, and are at this Day, almost all *Europe* being engaged herein. I grant he did not ascribe this to any immediate divine Inspiration, as these do, * but to his Skill in interpreting Scripture-Prophecies: But yet he reckoned his Predictions to be more certain ¹ than if they had been confirmed with Miracles and Signs.

And here in our own Nation it is well known, how in the Reign of Queen *Elizabeth*, ^m one *Hacket*, a wicked, profligate, blasphemous Wretch, took upon him to turn Prophet, boasted of Visions and Revelations, and frequent Discourses betwixt God and himself; affirming the truth hereof with ⁿ most dreadful Oaths and Execrations, till he had gained such Credit amongst his Followers that they began to conclude him a greater Prophet than either *Moses* or *John* the Baptist. He declared himself to be a Forewarner of the Divine Vengeance (as these Pretenders do) and prophesied the immediate Down-fal of the Pope; and that that very Year MDXCI, this Land should be grievously afflicted with God's Three sore Judgments, Famine, Pestilence and War, unless they followed his Measures. He sent forth also his two Emissaries, *Coppinger* and *Arthington*, who made Proclamation, that *Christ was come to Judgment as sure as God is in Heaven*, blasphemously affirming, that this *Hacket* was come in a glorified Body, with his Fan in his Hand; that themselves were true Prophets, but *Hacket* was the supreme Lord, and all the Kings in *Europe* his Dependents, and that therefore he was to be obeyed

* P. 496.

¹ Ibid.^m Cambd. Eliz. Par. 4.ⁿ Vehementissimis & diris devorionibus per animæ salutem & damnationem verissima esse dejerabat. *ibid.*

and the Queen deposed. But they soon had all their Predictions defeated by the Execution of their Leader, another's starving himself in Prison, and the Repentance and Recantation of the Third.

And others our selves must have heard of, who in our own Times, and divers of them here at Home, have confidently foretold the near approach of the Day of Judgment, just as Mr. *Lacy* ° does, and have lived to see themselves confuted. As others also have set the Time for the Destruction of the *Pope* and *Church of Rome*, whose Names I purposely suppress.

And in *Germany* ^p one of their wild *Anabaptists* gave out, that *within three Days the last Judgment should come*. And his Prediction was as truly verified as those of our pretended Prophets, or of the fore-mentioned Quakers. And numbers of them when in *Holland*, ^q threatened *Ruine and Destruction to all that would not adhere to them, and leave their Lands and Houses to come out of Babylon; for Babylon they would overthrow*. Others upon pretence of a prophetick Impulse ran about, crying ^r *Repent and be baptized again, else the Wrath of God shall fall upon you*. Another ventur'd to foretel ^t that a certain Person *should not die*, and pleaded a particular *Revelation* for it; and yet to his Confusion the poor Man died a few Days after. Another had a Revelation, ^u that those *in high Places should be brought low; and they that were in the lowest should be raised to the highest*. Which was immediately confronted by another pretended Revelation, that being more powerfully back'd, ended to his Sorrow in his own unexpected Depression and Disgrace. Another ^v predicted of *John of Leyden*, who also himself

° *Warnings*, Part 2. p. 9.

^p *Fanat. Hist.* p. 18.

^q P. 19.

^r P. 23, 24. and *Sleidan. Comment. de Stat. Rel. & Reip.* l. 10.

^s *Ibid.*

^t *Ibid.*

^u *Ibid.*

concurred with him in the same pretended Revelation, that this said *John* was to be *the King of the Universe*, and that with mighty Armies he should kill all Kings and Princes, and destroy all the Ungodly; should possess the Kingdom of his Father *DAVID*; and that all the Ungodly being slain the Godly should reign in the World. One of these two prophesied that he should die and rise again, and then the Eyes of all the Blind should be opened. Another came with a solemn Message to their new made King, the forenamed *John of Leyden*, as if immediately commissioned by Almighty God^w: And thus he begins, *Thus saith the Lord God, Go and say to the King of Sion, that he prepare my holy Supper in the Church-yard of the great Church, and that he choose Teachers of my Word to send in the four Quarters of the Word, &c.* And soon after he renewed this same part of his Message in these words, *Thus saith the Lord, choose Men among my People to send into the four Quarters of the World, to do great Wonders among the Nations, &c.* Who being chosen, in Number about twenty Eight^x, went into the Cities whither they were sent, crying in the Streets, *That the People should repent, and join with them, or otherwise they should shortly perish.*

But nothing was more remarkable amongst their false Predictions, than that pitiful shift of their Chieftain and Leader, the said *John of Leyden*, who when the City of *Munster* was besieged, and reduced to great streights and want, in the Month of *February* 1535, assured them that *their*^y *Siege* should certainly be raised, and themselves relieved by *Easter* following. But when *Easter* came, and no Relief appeared, he was fain to fly to his Wits for an Evasion; as these do about the raising of *Dr. Emes*, &c. To this end he pretended Sickness and kept in for some Days, and at his first Appearance afterwards

^w *Fanat. Hist.* p. 35, 36.^x *Sleid. ibid.*^y *Ibid.*

assured

assured them, he had been riding upon a blind Ass, and that the Father had laid on him the Sins of all the Multitude of them, so that they were now freed from all their Guilt: and this was the Deliverance he had promised them at that time.

Besides, we are told ^z of Five of this Sect that ran through the Streets of *Amsterdam*, (after the same manner as divers ^a Quakers have done nearer home) making this Proclamation as they ran, *In the Name of the Lord; The Blessing of God lieth on one part of the City and his Curse on the other.* And at another time a greater Number of them, in the same Place, ran crying horribly through the Town, ^b *Woe, woe, woe, the Divine Vengeance, the Divine Vengeance.* Besides others ^c that cried to the same Tune in the City of *Zurich*, some of them, in imitation of the Prophet *Jonah*, allowing them only forty Days respite till they should be destroyed.

Here are the vain Pretences of Impostors, which shew plainly these present Pretenders are not the first Inventors of these Devices, but others who were far enough from being real Prophets have been before hand with them, both in the denunciations of *Woes and Judgments* and in taking upon them to predict such future Events as have never come to pass ^d.

And so for raising the Dead. If these have given out that on such a Day, namely, *May 25. 1708.* they would raise *Dr. Emes*, or others at other times; so ^e *Susannah Prinson*, a Quaker at *Worcester*, vainly and madly undertook to raise one *William*

^z *Fanat. Hist.* ch. 5. p. 48.

^a *Defence of the Snake in the Grass*, p. 42, &c. *Fanat. Hist.* l. 2. c. 5. p. 112, 113, 116, 118, 121.

^b *Fanat. Hist.* p. 53. ^c Ch. 6. p. 61.

^d See more of this Sect and their Pretences to Visions and Revelations, in *Dr. Beasley's Description of the several sorts of Anabaptists*, p. 240, &c.

^e *Hell broke-loose*, p. 36. cited in *Fan. Hist.* p. 111, 112.

Paul from the dead, calling him by his Name, and saying, *Arise and walk*, with other Expressions to the same Purpose. And when one of their Fraternity named *Parnel*, died in the Prison at *Colchester* † another Quaker, waited at his Grave for *three Days*, expecting his Resurrection.

And who knows not how another detestable Enthusiast was wont to curse any that displeased him, *“In the Name of the Lord*, teaching withal, that *those he thus cursed, must needs be damn’d; God himself could not save them.* I mean *John Muggleton*, who yet fail’d not to gain Profelytes in *Cambridgshire*, and other places. I my self have known some, and heard of other particular Persons that had been cursed by him.

So that these pretended Prophets are not alone, nor the first that in these latter Ages, and even in our own Days, have set up for extraordinarily inspir’d Messengers of God; tho’ I make no Question to prove their Pretences to be as Groundless as any of the others. They come neither with any more use-

† *Clark’s Mirror*, p. 271. cited in the same Page.

‡ See how exactly *Mr. Lacy* writes after this Copy, whilst he makes the Spirit to proclaim, that the Power to Bless and to Curse has been declar’d and promised, and several times assured, to be put into the Hands of his Messengers, [*himself and his Accomplishes*] their Hands being always to be guided, not by themselves at all, no, but by his own immediate Command, given to the one or the other, and that this is irrevocable, unchangeable. *Pref. to Proph. Warn.* part 2. p. iv. This Privilege he promises also to *N. F.* Ay my Child, thou wilt need that I even steel thy Heart, to see the Desolations of those whom thy Authority shall strike dead. Thy Prayer to me is a Command. Thy Word when I see fit to strike with immediate Death, thy Word shall be the Call to me; therefore don’t spare nor pity, &c. p. 26, 27. And again, with respect to himself; This City in a very little time shall know, I have given Authority to my Servant to Bless and to Curse. Lord, I humbly plead with thee: I believe it was thy Word, and that by it thou didst mean my self, &c. p. 116, 117. And not long after; Thou hast given me Authority to Bless and to Curse, &c. p. 120. See also p. 166, 167.

ful Revelation, nor more authentick Credentials than they; and therefore seem in no respect to have the Advantage of them. I grant they magnifie their own Authority, and tell of strange Trifles said to be done and spoken amongst them to the Amusement of their deluded Followers, and so did the others too, or else they had never gain'd Profelytes as they did. Yet this would not evince them to be no Impostors, or at least not to be influenced by such when it plainly appear'd they were. They came with no new Doctrine worthy of God, or that tended to make the World truly wiser and better than it was before: But on the contrary, to adulterate the pure Word of Life with corrupt Mixtures, and erroneous Interpretations, and so to promote the Devil's Kingdom, not that of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ. And if these do it not so grossly as most of them, yet seeing they come only with groundless Promises of such a glorious State about to be revealed, as they can never prove, and general Declamations against Sin, and Exhortations to Amendment, and Menaces, and Woes to be inflicted upon the Impenitent, which any others might do as well as they, there is no reason to conceit that Almighty God would raise them up in so extraordinary a manner as they pretend, and endue them with the Gift of Prophecy, for no higher Purposes than these.

Here therefore I should have dismiss'd this first Assertion, as sufficiently established, but that I observe a Plea of Mr. *Lacy*, which I think necessary to be first considered. He argues, that *the Natural Seed of Abraham were frequently, in sundry Ages, honoured by God's immediate Direction, comforted by his Promises, warned by his Denunciations.* And thence insinuates, that if it be not so with us, if we have not a constant Succession of Prophets, to awaken us

out of our Sins, and reclaim us from our evil Ways, the Gospel Ministration were in that respect less Glorious than that of the Law given by Moses. Whence he would infer, that we are still to expect a race of Prophets through all the Ages of the Christian Church, to warn Persons of their Sins, and invite them to Repentance and Amendment of Life. To which I answer.

1. That this was not the Case of all their Prophets, but *Isaiah* and *Daniel*, and others of them, were appointed to foretel our Blessed Saviour's Incarnation, and the mighty Change he was to make in the World, and the inestimable Benefits that were to be expected by him. Which was the justest and noblest Occasion of such a Divine Commission that ever was, except the Publication of the Gospel, which contained the fullest Completion of all these Predictions. And what then might be expected, but that these Prophets thus raised up and sent, should have it also in Commission, to warn the People of their Sins, and the Destruction they were preparing for themselves, and call upon them to Repent and Reform, in order to their future Peace and Tranquillity?

2. Admitting that some of the other Prophets were employ'd, only to reclaim that stiff-necked People from their Sins, and acquaint them with the dreadful Consequence of persisting in them, yet will it not follow, that the same Messages, sent in the same manner, are to be expected by our selves for these following Reasons.

1. From the Cessation of Prophecy. We never find from the time this Gift failed amongst the Jews, ^a I mean from the Times of *Malachi*, who

^a Except. Gem. lib. Sota Distinct. Eglā harupha. Jud. Levit. lib. Cozri. Man. hen Israel. de term. vit. l. 3. Joseph. c. App. l. 1. Lightfoot's Remains. Sect. 12. p. 66.

was therefore said by the *Rabbies* to be ^{דברי נביא} ^{דברי נביא}, the *Seal of the Prophets*; we never find, I say, from this time, that any more Prophets afterwards appeared, till *John the Baptist* came to usher in the Appearance of our Blessed Redeemer. And accordingly, since Prophecy has had a much longer Intermision amongst us, and no such weighty Reason for the Restauration of it as was then, can be thought of, nor any thing like it, I know no Reason to imagine that it is or will be reviv'd amongst us. I am sure there is no inferring from the Prophets amongst the *Jews* that it will.

2. We are not now under the Theocracy, as they were. God is not now our Temporal Prince, and Governour, as he was theirs; and it is not therefore to be thought, that he will proceed in all respects with us, as he did with them. He was ^a their King, as is implied in those Words to *Samuel*, ⁱ *They have not rejected thee, but they have rejected me, that I should not reign over them*; and as it is testified by *Josephus*, ^m declaring God to be their *Leader and General*; and as is intimated by *Gideon*, ⁿ professing, that neither himself would, nor his Son should take the Government out of God's Hand; but that the Lord should rule over them. Hence the Government administred amongst the *Jews* was called ^o God's Judgment.

And even under the Administration of their Kings, to shew that they were in a peculiar manner his Deputies, *Solomon* is said, ^p to sit on the Throne of the Lord; and the Kingdom of his Posterity is called ^q the Kingdom of the Lord. As has

ⁱ R. D. Kimchi in reep. c. Christianos in ps. 110. apud Lipmann. in Nizzachen. p. 200.

^k Spencer. de leg. Hebr. l. 1. c. 3.

^l 1 Sam. 8. 7.

^m Ἀρχὴν γὰρ ὁ Θεὸς ἡγεμὼν εἶναι. Antiq. l. 4. c. 8. Στρατηγὸν μὲν αὐτοῦ καὶ τοῦ στρατοῦ. Ibid.

ⁿ Judg. v. 23.

^o Deut. 1. 17.

^p 1 Chron. 29. 23.

^q 2 Chron. 13. 8.

been observed by a late ⁵ very learned Commentator. And consonantly hereto, Almighty God vouchsafed this People his especial Presence, and conversed with them by the Mediation of *Moses* and the other Prophets, and intimated his Pleasure to them ⁴ by the *Urim* and *Thummim*, on the High-Priest's Breast-plate; and if we may believe their *Rabbins*, by the *Bath-col*, or Daughter of a Voice, after the Cessation of other Prophecy. As I have noted ⁶ formerly, upon another occasion. But it does not follow, that he will deal thus with other Nations to whom he does not stand in the same Relation. And as to ourselves in particular, I cannot apprehend what Cause we have to look for Prophets, thus extraordinarily commission'd, any more than for the Divine *Shecinah*, or *Urim* and *Thummim* to be given to us.

3. We have not the same need of Prophets to be sent amongst us, to reclaim us from our Sins, that the *Jews* had. I fear it is too true, that we are not less wicked than they, because it is sadly visible how all sorts of Impieties reign most shamefully amongst us. But yet it is to be remembered, that we have been blest'd with a far clearer Revelation of the Divine Will than they were, and of the Rewards and Punishments, annexed to the Observance and Neglect of it; which makes all other Means of Information less necessary to us than they were to that People. We are not now under their Pedagogy of the Law; and are not therefore to expect the same Methods of Instruction, that were needful for the less perfect State of their Church. And those Words of the Apostle referred to by

⁴ *Bishop Patrick on Judg. 8. 23.*

⁵ *Exod. 28. 30. Numb. 27. 21. 1 Sam. 28. 6. Spencer. de leg. Hebr. Dissertat. vii.*

⁶ *Of Trust in God, chap. 3. sect. 1.*

" Mr. Lacy, " God gave some Apostles, and some Prophets, and some Evangelists, and some Pastors and Teachers, for the perfecting of the Saints, for the work of the Ministry, for the edifying of the Body of Christ, do no more prove that there shall be an order of Prophets in these latter Days, than that there shall be a new Set of Apostles and Evangelists, which these Pseudoprophets do not themselves profess to expect. In a Word, what our Saviour affirmed concerning the Testimony of *Moses* and the Prophets, * that if People harkened not to these, *neither would they be persuaded, tho' one rose from the Dead*, the same may I conclude of our selves in relation to our Blessed Lord and his Apostles, that if we attend not to their Doctrines, nor be convinced by them, neither would we be prevail'd with by ever so many Prophets sent amongst us. And we may rest satisfied that Almighty God will not send them, where he foresees it like to turn to no better Account.

And thus I have fully proved what I undertook in the first Place, that there is no reason to imagine, that after the Cessation of this Gift of Prophecy for so many Ages together, God will now think fit to revive it, unless upon some very important Occasion, and to introduce some new, and much more useful Revelation than what these Men pretend to. Which I do not affirm, as designing in the least to prescribe Rules hereby to his infinite Wisdom; but only to shew that according to what Accounts he has vouchsafed us of his own Proceedings, this is what we may justly and certainly depend upon.

II. Or if it might be hoped, that God would again send his Prophets among us, with any farther Manife-

" Relation of God's Dealings, p. 6.

* St. Luke 16. 31.

" Eph. 4. 11, 12.

stations of his Will, it were justly to be expected, that the Pretenders to this high Office should come with such Credentials, as might satisfy all unprejudiced Persons of their Divine Mission. God does not raise up Prophets for their own sakes, but for the sake of those to whom they are sent, and such as come after them. Thus much ¹ Mr. *Lacy* himself acknowledges. And others therefore are to be satisfied as well as themselves of the Truth of their Inspiration. Which shews the Weakness and Insufficiency of all this Gentleman's Experiences. For what is another Man's Inspiration to me, or what Credit can I any way give to it, till he first give me some good Assurance that he is inspired? If we were to believe every one that boasts of immediate Inspiration, how should we lie at the Mercy of every confident Pretender? And to what Variety of Delusions must we be thereby exposed? None can be so fixed in any Principle to Day, but that to Morrow he may possibly meet with the contrary asserted, by some Body that may plead Inspiration for it. And hence it necessarily follows, that not all who would be thought inspired are to be believed; but those only that can make good their Pretences to such Inspiration. And for my part, I know no other Evidence that ought to be looked upon in this Case as Satisfactory, than such as the Apostles and Disciples of our Lord came with; and more especially these two peculiar Qualifications, The Gift of Tongues, and a Power of working Miracles. That these are necessary I need not prove, since ² these same Pretenders make a shew of both of them; which we may be sure they would not, if they were not persuaded of the Necessity of them. Wherefore I proceed next to shew how vain their

¹ *Relation of God's Dealing, &c.* p. 13.

² *See Prophet. Warnings.* part. 2. p. 192.

Pretences to them are, and that there is no reason to fancy them endued with either of them.

1. Not with the Gift of Tongues. The Apostles being to preach the Gospel thro' the World, this Gift was highly needful for them, for enabling them to express themselves to the understanding of all Persons wheresoever they came; that all who should hear them of how different Languages soever, might be instructed by the Doctrine they delivered: Which they could not be, unless it were deliver'd in a Language they were acquainted with. But that these Men have not the like Gift appears, not only from their not having the like Occasion for it, not being appointed to preach to so many different Countries; but besides upon these three Accounts. The Apostles and first Disciples spoke,

1. Living, not dead Languages.

2. In the Language of those to whom they were sent; not in their own, which many times few or none of those understood.

3. Perfect and proper, not improper and broken Languages. Whereas these profess to be inspired with *Hebrew*, *Latin* and *Greek*, Languages long since grown into Disuse amongst, and so quite unknown to, the ordinary sort of People; though to these they chiefly deliver their pretended Messages. At other times they speak in *French*, a Tongue as little understood by most of their Auditors, as either of the other, and once in *Hebrew*. And again, when they pretend to *Latin* or *Greek*, they speak very defectively and erroneously. As I shall shew in divers Instances.

1. They pretend to be inspired with *Latin* and *Greek*, Languages long since grown into Disuse amongst, and so quite unknown to, the ordinary sort of People; though to these they chiefly deliver their pretended Messages. These are they who usually flock after them, and nothing can be more vain, when they do so, than to address to them in

a Tongue they are perfect Strangers to. The Church of *Rome* has been long complained of, for withholding the Key of Knowledge from the Laity, by denying them the Scriptures in the Vulgar Tongue; this being a sure way to keep them in a profound Ignorance of such important Truths, as are required to be known and believed by all Christians. And is it any way reconcilable to the infinite Wisdom and Goodness of Almighty God, extraordinarily to commission Persons supernaturally inspired, to take the same useless Method in order to the Promotion of Religion? That he should raise up Prophets, and send them to reveal his Will, in such a manner, that they must needs be convinced before-hand, those to whom it is revealed, will not know a Word of what is said to them? When the *Apostles* preached the Gospel, they did it so effectually, that all their Auditors of whatsoever Nations, ^a *Parthians, Medes, and Elamites, Cappadocians, Mesopotamians,* and those of other Countries, were all fully instructed by them, *hearing them speak in each of their own Tongues the wonderful Works of God.* And what can be more diametrically opposite to this, than for Persons to pretend to the like Gifts with them, and yet deliver their Message in Languages quite foreign to their Hearers, and which most of them understand no more than the Benches they sit upon? Yet this is the true state of the Case before us. Mr. *Lacy* in his Preface ^b to the first Part of his *Prophetical Warnings* professes his Knowledge in the *Latin* to be so little, ^c that he cannot pretend to speak it

^a *Acts* 2. 7, 8, 9, 10, 11.

^b Page ix, x.

^c Here I cannot but observe, that all the Accounts which are given of Mr. *Lacy's* Latin Prophecies, and the Marginal Notes that belong to any of them, are constantly in Latin. So that if these were not part of the Inspiration, which I do not take to be so much as pretended, it must be granted, that Mr. L. knows something of Latin out of Inspiration. Which does not well consist with what he here professes of himself. So that *indicio sua miser, quasi forex, perit.*
otherwise

otherwise than by *Inspiration*, and that he does not so much as understand the *English* of many Words uttered by him, otherways than as divinely instructed; that he does not out of Extasie know the true Conjugations, nor can compose any thing of that kind upon the utmost Deliberation and Thought; as likewise, that the French he speaks at other Times, is far short of what has been delivered by him in that Language in his Agitations; and again, that the Greek Words which came from his Mouth, were impress'd upon him in the Moment of pronouncing; though the Words he otherwise understood not. And what hope then could he have, that the Generality of his Auditors, mere Mechanics, and other illiterate Persons, should understand what he said better than himself?

Yet he is so puffed up with the Thoughts of this pretended Privilege, that he appeals to it, as one of the principal Evidences of his Divine Mission.

^d Nothing in my Circumstances, says he, has more assured me of the Agency of that supernatural Influence, that what has passed of this kind in respect of the Latin found in the First and Second Book of Warnings.

And in his Preface to the Cry from the Desert,

^e amongst other pretended Proofs of a Divine Inspiration, one is, The ready Utterance of a Language, which out of Extacy (so he is pleased to write it) they could not speak. ^f I will not stand here to en-

quire

^d Relation of God's Dealing, p. 21.

^e P. xviii.

^f Divers other like Instances are mentioned in Cry from the Desert, p. 59, 79, 108, 121. and Warnings part 2. p. 182, 183. and part 3. p. 49. Which the Reader may please to compare with what Dr. Meric Casaubon in his learned Treatise of Enthusiasm, ch. 2. p. 38, &c. relates from Raguseus, Psellus, Fernelius and Cornelius a Lapide, and see whether the Parallel does not too exactly suit. There he tells of a poor Venetian Woman, who being possessed with the Devil, would by fits speak with divers Tongues, and discourse of Things belonging to the Mathematicks, Philosophy and Divinity; of another Woman that was possessed, and in her Fits

quire into the Truth of the several Facts pointed at; nor supposing them true, from what sort of Spirit they are most likely to proceed; it being sufficient for my present Purpose to note, that the two ^e *Alluts*, and others of the *French*, had no Gift of *English*, and spake only in their own native Tongue, though as much to the Edification of most of their Hearers, as if it had been in *Arabick* or *Ethiopick*, *Chinese* or *Persian*. The *English* spake only our own Language, except Mr. *Dutton* once, and Mr. *L.* who offers sometimes at *Latine*, and very rarely at a little *Greek*, but with such gross Falsities in both, as would tend rather highly to offend, than in the least recommend either Himself, or his Doctrine, to any considerate judicious Hearer. To whatsoever Nation a Man should apply himself in this illiterate manner, he must necessarily be ^h a *Barbarian* to far the greatest part of them. And the rest of them could not well fail of having him in Contempt as an Impostor, it being impossible that so many extravagant Blunders can proceed from the Holy Spirit of God.

spake the *Armenian* Tongue, to which she was otherwise altogether a Stranger, of a Man that spake *Greek* in his Fits, though at other times wholly unacquainted with that Language; and again of divers others, that by the instinct of the Devil began presently to speak some *Greek* and some *Hebrew*. The like is also related of a young Man in Germany, *Obsessus juvenis gestus quosdam cepit habere devotos in orationibus. Rapi eum fratres viderunt, & privari omnibus exterioribus sensibus corporis. Quibus restitutis, locutus est bene Latine, quod prius nescivit. Corderenus protulit multos Bibliorum passus, qui eum prius latebant. Gallicam linguam expressit, quam nunquam didicerat. Se in cælo mirabiliâ vidisse asseruit. Revelationesque quasdam exprimendo, mirabilia dicere præsumpsit. Ex quibus nonnullæ fæminæ, quæ citò credunt, & leves sunt corde certo putarunt adesse divinum spiritum, ubi Diabolus solum locum habebat. Nider. de Visionibus & Revelat. l. 3. c. 1.*

^e *Warnings part 2. p. 74, 75, 114, 123, 131, 134, 135, 146, 150, 151, 152, 154, 186, 187.* ^h *1 Cor. 14. 11.*

2. Excepting these dead Languages, they speak in their own Tongue, not that of those to whom they are sent. In *France* I grant they ⁱ spake in *French*, and so to the Capacity of the Vulgar there; and here our Country-men speak in *English*. As Mr. L. also on the other hand, being to speak to *Jean Allut* a French Man, does it ^k in his own Language, as knowing him not to understand *English*. And again ^l, taking him by the Hand he leads him about the Room in a Dance, himself singing in *French*. Which being the case it is certain, that whatsoever conceits any of them may have of the Matter of their Prophecies being dictated by the Holy Ghost, there is no Pretence for imagining the Language wherein they are delivered to be by Inspiration; it being the same they have been all along accustomed to, and in which all their common Affairs are transacted. Quite contrary to the Gift of Tongues in the Apostles, enabling them, as I noted before, to discourse with and instruct all Nations in the proper Language of whatsoever Place they came to. So that this Gift not only served for an irrefragable Testimony of their Mission, but moreover qualified them to converse with, inform and persuade such as came in their way, of whatsoever Country, People, or Language. Which they could have performed for but few of them, if they had spoken as these Men do, only in learned Languages, and that wherein themselves had been bred up.

3. They speak broken and imperfect Languages. Which I do not mean of their own Mother Tongue, whether *French* or *English*, at which they probably may be as ready as any of their Neighbours;

ⁱ *Cry from the Desert*, p. 14, 16, 20, 26, 74, 110. *Warnings*, part 2. p. 61, 74, 75.

^k *Warning*, part 2. p. 108. *en assez Méchant. François. Lettres à Mr. Misson*. p. 6.

^l *Warnings*. part 2. p. 109.

tho' here they are not without ^m their slips and improprieties, but of those they would be thought to have by Inspiration. I observe no *Hebrew*, save only in a few words, ⁿ that Sir R. B. says he collected out of a Speech of Mr. *Dutton*, and yet there is *ha-aren* for *haarets*. Mr. L. is very sparing of his *Greek*, of which I find scarce seven Lines in all: and one would think there should not be many Faults in so little a compass. Yet it is undeniable that here are more gross palpable Errors of divers sorts than there are Lines; Errors ^o in accenting; ^p in Orthography; ^q in Syntax; ^r in Declension; ^s in false rendring. Are these like the Dictates of the Holy Ghost? Are these the Effects of a Divine Inspiration? Or rather are they not on the other hand so many apparent Convictions of shameless Impostors, or at best of a lamentable Enthusiasm, when a Man is not afraid to ascribe his own Weaknesses and Delusions to the infallible Spirit of God?

He is more liberal of his *Latine*, which he may be supposed to have had a little more insight into, yet here too he not only expresses himself in such bald improper phrases as an ordinary School-boy would be heartily ashamed of, but oftentimes uses apparent ^t Anglicisms, ^u Galli-

^m As sensual for sensible. *Warnings*, part 2. p. 32. to Sophister me out of my Government, p. 41. An eternal distance, part 2. p. 43. Will every one be all fulfilled, p. 52.

ⁿ Answer to several Treatises, p. 94.

^o As *Xeís* Θ, τέτω, *Warnings*, part 1. p. 67. *ἐαυτον*, *ἑαυτον*, p. 88.

^p As *ὁβαγγέλιον* for *εὐαγγέλιον*, *ibid.*

^q As *ἐαυτον* for *ἑαυτε*, *ibid.*

^r As *ὁβαγγελίαν* for *εὐαγγέλιον*, *ibid.*

^s As *δέσιν* for *ἑαυτον*, *ibid.*

^t As correctè *Warnings*, part 1. p. 56. Tibi cor resignamus, *ibid.* Voluntas tua sit propitiosa, p. 92, 50. Notoriè cognita, *ibid.* Exhaustari, *ibid.* Magnificentem, p. 102. Expeditiosior, *ibid.* Pro aternitate, p. 56. Coeternalis, p. 62. Pro

^u Gallicisms, or ^w other words that are by no means *Latin*. At other times he is miserably out in ^{*} point of

confesso tenetur, p. 63. Et pro confesso teneatis, p. 75. Municipia clamat for vendicat, p. 61. Conclusiva, *ibid.* Extensiva, p. 62. Determinati estis, p. 63. Infatui, p. 64. Materiam novam & moventem, p. 90. Date aggressum, p. 91. Concertò agite. p. Voluntas tua fit completa, p. 62. Impledere, p. 87. Deliciosiores, p. 85. Domus hospitabilis, *part 2.* p. 89. Penna for calamus, p. 90.

^u As Demandem, *let me ask*, *part 2.* p. 62. Ea demando, p. 64. Disparebunt, p. 88. Pensate, *think ye*, p. 91.

^w As insigniis for insignibus, p. 61. Destructivè, *ibid.* Exiletur for exulet, p. 62. Convictivum, p. 63. Exultantur, p. 64. Amplectus, *part 2.* p. 80. Tergiversum, p. Mementus sum, *part 1.* p. 65. Infidix, *ibid.* Adventissimus, p. 74. Erunt, p. 90. Experiet, p. 65. Experietis, p. 74. & *part 2.* p. 166. Experiatis, p. 85. Auspiciosam, *part 1.* p. 89. Auspiciose, p. 90. Gaudiosæ, p. 89. Adapta, p. 90. Luciferentis, p. 91. Imperuitas, p. 92. Præstavit, *Nicholson's Falshood, &c.* p. 30. Vidioq; *ibid.* Amplexibus gravioribus, *ibid.* Essuriens, *ibid.* & Essurientes, p. 31. Redentigratam amicitiam, p. 30. Notæfacere, p. 31. Declarrae, *ibid.* Turpida, *Warnings*, *part 1.* p. 90. Angeliter, *ibid.* Cælestialis, p. 91. Digniter, p. 102. Patriciales, *ibid.* Pontificiales, *ibid.* Prosternatos, p. 74. Semperiterniter, p. 57. Porrexite, *Warnings*, *part 2.* p. 86. Eterniter, p. 87. Delectiorem, p. 91. Antequem, *part 1.* p. 102. Esurgat, *part 2.* p. 85. Terrestrales, *ibid.* Exhileras, *part 1.* p. 62. Ambuente, *ibid.* Urbs ignorata sui, p. 81. Humiliantes, p. 80.

^{*} As insolentiam arrogantiam, *part 1.* p. 63. In futuro Palatio & Templo adire, Ecclesiæ, de novo formatæ, non decet, *part 2.* p. 138. Pro semper, p. 83. In semper, *part 1.* p. 102. Vos tunc impero, quod mihi rationem detis, p. 57. Mihi permittatis libertatem eadem agere, quæ secula præcedentia me non recusarunt, *ibid.* Creditis me? p. Usurpentur Thronum meum, p. 65. Extensa sunt brachia mea amplexari eos, p. 60. Per totam terrarum orbem, *ibid.* Non ego vobis veniam precor Quæstionem dare aut refellere, *ibid.* Fides vestra verborum meorum, p. 61. Non vestrum est, O Judices, non peculia tua, *ibid.* Judicio vestro avoco sedi Præsidiali Universali, *ibid.* Gloriata dona, p. 65. Animas mihi caras ditare capacem esse non desino, p. 66. Tribunali vos citat, p. 74. Adsum copiam eorum effundere, *part 2.* p. 82. Coram vos, *ibid.* Vulgi, imo vulgi dabo & do, p. 83. Equum ascendit—certamen inire hostibus, p. 86. Non tibi confidi animas, *ibid.* Sagittis armati meis, Legatorum splendore, & ampla autoritate induti,

of Syntax, or ^y misapplies his Words, or ^z else speaks mere Nonsense. And sometimes again he ^a has two, or more of these incongruities together; besides divers other foul mistakes too many to be here inserted.

Now what a horrid Affront is it to ascribe all these instances of ones own Ignorance to the all-wise Spirit of God, as if he could neither dictate good Sense nor true and proper Language? Yet Mr. L. does no less, whilst he professes all he speaks how erroneously soever, to be the immediate suggestions of that blessed Spirit: He seeks to make this divine Person answerable for all his own scandalous Slips and Mistakes; and so that himself may not be charg'd with them, cares not what dishonour is cast upon Almighty God by them. Wherefore I would beg of himself and his Party, seriously to consider: Did the Holy Ghost ever speak at such a rate as any Man of common Modesty and Understanding would be heartily ashamed of? Had this blessed Spirit appointed these for his Messengers in such a manner as he did the Apostles and Disciples at the first, we may infallibly depend upon it that he would have endued these as he did them, with all the Qualifications necessary for so high an Office,

non pudebit in foro vos præbere, p. 89. Indignis non prostabunt, *ibid.* Faciam tibi gratiam Conscientiæ facultatem restaurare, p. 87. Aptos recipere gratias, *part* 1. p. 60. Theatrum & Scholam erigo vestras confundere, p. 65. Palatio & Templo meo adire aliis non decet, p. 102.

^y Evasis for lapsa est, *Warnings*, *part* 1. p. 64. Non longe tardabo for non diu, p. 63. and *part* 2. p. 81. In futuro for in posterum, *part* 1. p. 64.

^z As virga evomenda, *Warnings*, *part* 1. p. 64. Magnaliis coronæ, p. 90. Probamen solertia vestra tantulla jubeo, p. 91.

^a Lac deliciosior, *Warnings*, *part* 1. p. 60. Clamor populi, furor Principium eo tendere impotentes, p. 61. Literas missivas amicis mei oblitis vobis etiam confido, dulcedinis characteristica Evidentiis plenas, *part* 2. p. 89. Recusantes vindictis rejectaturus, p. 80. Omnipresens gaudet reddere momentanee preces servorum, *part* 1. p. 57.

and not have sent them forth to amuse their Hearers with such vain Jargon as this; such as never drop'd from the Mouth or Pen of any of the Prophets of the Lord. He would have directed them to deliver the weighty Truths of Christianity, and to have enforced them by fit and proper Motives for awakening a stupid and impenitent Generation; would have enabled them to do this plainly and intelligibly, in proper and affecting Language, worthy of its divine Author, and would not have left them to vent their own Fancies and hammer at what they did not understand, and wherein they could hope for nothing but to be admired, and get themselves a Name amongst such as could neither apprehend what they meant, nor discover the many Mistakes they should commit.

However Sir R. B. expects to bring off Mr. L. by pleading, that though he was a stranger to the *Latin* Tongue at first, yet since his Inspirations, himself and Mr. *Facio* being in the Coach with him, ^b *so strong an impression was upon him that for above four Miles travelling they tried to pose him with the hardest Latin words they could think of; and they no sooner recited a line in Latin, but he recited the same in English as readily as if he were then reading it before him.* But then it is to be noted, that

1. We have only their own word for this, which is not a sufficient attestation to the Truth of a Miracle. And I appeal to their own Consciences, whether themselves would not think so in a case that made against them.

2. Supposing the Truth of what is here affirmed, it must be owned that for Mr. L. to have apply'd himself of late to the study of the *Latin* Tongue (and that he has not, they cannot be certain) and to have made some progress therein, is such a Mi-

^b Answer to several Treatises, p. 92, 93.

racle as every School-boy is expected to work, or else he might as well keep at home and not spend his own Time and his Parents Money to no purpose. And for Mr. L. to do what an ordinary School-boy would, is no undeniable Sign of a divine Inspiration.

3. Mr. L. cautioned against their asking him *any technical Words, or foreign Words made Latin*, as if the Spirit could not have taught him these as easily as the most classical *Latin*. But the truth of the Matter was, as I presume the Reader will readily conceive, that his Learning did not yet extend to these, and he was willing to keep within the bounds of that.

4. Lastly, Sir R. B. does not say he render'd all that was put to him aright, but only that he *did not miss the true signification of three true Latin words*. Which implies that he did miss some words not *true Latin*, and that amongst the *true Latin* he miss'd some, though not *three*. Than which one would not desire a clearer proof that his Knowledge in this kind proceeded from Study, and not, as is here pretended, from Inspiration.

Hence therefore it evidently appears, that they are so far from having any cause to value themselves upon their pretended Gift of Tongues, that they have abundant reason to be heartily ashamed and beg pardon both of God and Man, for having in any wise pretended to it. They neither offer to speak in the Language of those to whom they pretend to be sent, except they be of their own Nation, nor in any other living Language. And when they make a shew of using the learned Languages, they do it in such a bungling manner as manifestly to shew there is no direction from God in what they say.

2. And as little reason have they to boast of the other pretended Evidence of their Inspiration, that of Miracles. This was the Evidence our Blessed Saviour

Saviour appealed to for the Truth of his Doctrine and Proof of his divine Mission. When St. John the Baptist sent his Disciples to enquire of him, whether he were *ὁ Ἐρχόμενος*, *he that was to come, the Messias*, St. Matt. xi. 3. Go, says our Saviour, and shew John again those things which ye do hear and see; the Blind receive their sight and the Lame walk, the Lepers are cleansed, and the Deaf hear, the Dead are raised up, and the Poor have the Gospel preached to them. And St. John xi. 37, 38. *If I do not the Works of my Father, believe me not.* And upon his raising Lazarus from the Dead, we find that many of the Jews which came to Mary, and had seen the things which Jesus did, believed on him, ver. 45. And though his Miracles had not the like Efficacy upon his avowed Enemies, the chief Priests and Pharisees, yet so sensible were these, how difficult a matter others would find it to withstand their Testimony, that they thought it necessary to conspire our Saviour's Death, lest otherwise the whole Nation should flock after him by reason of them. Ver. 47, 48. *Then gathered the chief Priests and Pharisees a Council, and said, What do we? if we let him thus alone all Men will believe on him.* Miracles are a powerful Evidence of the Doctrine attested by them, and were particularly propounded for the trial of Prophets amongst the Jews, Deut. xviii. 22.

And accordingly Mr. L. promises this Testimony to his own and his Companions Doctrine; not only foretelling, that *the Lame decrepit may be healed without inward Medicines, calling on the Name of the Lord, and by the application of thy* [meaning his own] *Hand*: But moreover expressly declaring, that Signs and mighty Wonders should be wrought in the Presence of such as wait for the coming of our Lord. *You who wait for the Kingdom of Christ on Earth—will see the Miracles, the Signs and Pro-*

diges which he will perform. And again, ^c *I have spoken Predictions in my own Name, and have promised various Gifts to my Servants, which Gifts are to prove that they did not speak in their own Name these Predictions. I have promised, they should bless my People, they should teach my Word; they should open the Scriptures; they should heal in my Name; and denounce judicial Inflictions upon Blasphemers.*

But now, *Quid tanto dignum feret hic promissor biatu?* Let him but once work undoubted Cures, Miracles and Prodigies, and I shall desire no more authentick Token of a Divine Commission, and shall readily yield that he does not *run before he is sent*, but is authorized and empowered by Almighty God to deliver his Word to Mankind. Though Miracles I know alone are not a sufficient Proof that those who work them are in the right, as is plain from ^f those done by the Magicians in *Egypt*, and those *τέρατα ψάδους*, *lying Wonders*, with which our Saviour prophesied that the false Christs and false Prophets should come; yet let him but once shew this mighty Power exerting it self in behalf of himself and his Associates, and I will for once admit it to be *the Finger of God*. But then I must tell him withal, that to the end their Miracles may appear to be really such, it is absolutely necessary that they be

1. True, not counterfeit.
2. Not trifling and useless, but for the Benefit of Mankind.
3. Plain and visible.
4. Actually wrought and not barely promised.
5. Chiefly upon Strangers and not amongst themselves only.
6. And lastly, upon the Spot, and not only said to be done in distant Countries. None of which Characters I fear will agree to the attempts of these Pretenders.

^c Part 3. p. 49.

^f Exod. 7. 11, 22. and ch. 8. 7.

1. They

1. They must be true, not counterfeit, must be really wrought, not vainly pretended, as too many of divers sorts have often been. This has been too visible in the Church of *Rome*, as whosoever pleases may easily be satisfied, by consulting ^s the several Authors cited in the Margin, and multitudes of others that are commonly to be met with. So ^h *Mahomet* long ago pretended by this means, to confirm his *Alchoran*; and his Disciples boasted ⁱ of other like feats done amongst them afterwards. The Followers also of *Sabatai Sevi* at *Smyrna*, gave out ^k that when he was cited before the *Cadi* or ^l Justice of the place, a *Pillar of Fire* was seen between him and the *Cadi*: And from other places the *Jews* stuffed their Letters with *Miracles and Wonders wrought by this their false Messiah*. Nor is any thing more common than for Impostors to set up with some remarkable Pretences of this nature, whereby to insinuate themselves the more easily into the Favour of the Populace, who are ordinarily no way more easily wrought upon than this. The belief of Miracles done by them naturally tends to gain them a singular Veneration amongst the believers of them, and this is a powerful Temptation to offer at some-

^s *Lipsii Virgines Hallens. & Aspricol. Baronii Annales. Turfellinus's Historia Divæ Virginis Lauretanæ. l. 1. c. 6. Matth. Paris's History. Niderus de Visionibus ac Revelationibus. Casaub. ad Front. Duc. p. 146, 147. Hickesii Dissertat. Epistolar. p. 115, 116, 117. H. Stephens's Introduction au Traite de la Conformité des Merveilles, p. 552, &c. Misson's Nouveau Voyage d'Italie. Sheldon's Survey of the Miracles of the Church of Rome, p. 24, 25, 40, 46, 47, 48, 63, 64, 94, 112, 113, 220, 223, 224, 229, 230, 231, 245, 292, &c. Europæ Speculum, p. 168, 169. Bishop Stillingfleet's second Discourse in Vindication of the Protestant Grounds of Faith, c. 3. p. 442, &c. Hunting of the Romish Fox, by Sir James Ware, c. 5. p. 85, &c. The School of the Eucharist. But especially Capgrave, De vitis Sanctorum; and the Golden Legend.*

^h Gr. Abul-Pharag. Hist. Dynast. Dyn. 9. p. 104. Hottinger. Hist. Oriental. l. 2. c. 5. ⁱ Ibid.

^k Hist. of three grand Impostors, p. 66.

^l Dr. Smyth's Remarks, &c. p. 95.

thing that may be thought miraculous, by such as are no competent judges of it.

And this I take to be the case of our present Pretenders, according to whose own relations there appears just reason to question whether many of the Gifts and Operations they most value themselves upon, have any thing Supernatural in them. Whatsoever Wonders and Signs they lay their stress upon, it does not seem to me, that if rightly considered, most of them may not be only the effects either of some particular Endowments, or of some acquired Arts and Habits.

Thus as to what is related ^m of a Girl's Preaching with most admirable Eloquence; supposing the Truth of the Fact, I know not how this can be conceived to proceed from the good Spirit of God, since we know ⁿ it is not permitted to a Woman to speak in the Church. In which words, ^o says St. Chrysostom, & ὅτι οὐκ ἐπιτρέπεται τῇ γυναίκει λαλεῖν ἐν κυρίῳ, &c. The Apostle does not only exhort, he does not only advise, but earnestly commands, and quotes the old Law for it. And yet if this Preaching were liable to no such Objection it might be ^p far from being miraculous. I could tell of divers that have made strange use of a happy Memory, to the great surprize of the Hearers; and more especially of a poor Girl, (not long since alive, and for ought I know yet living) near Wellingborow in Northamptonshire, of a very weak Understanding but an unusual Memory, ^q that would perfectly remember a whole Sermon, so as to retain it for Months after; and not one, but divers at the same time, together with the Tone and Gesture of the Preacher as if he himself had been actually

^m Cry from the Desert, p. 9.

ⁿ 1 Cor. 14. 34.

^o In loc.

^p The like may be said also of a Boy-Preacher in the forementioned Cry, p. 41, 42. Of Mrs. Sarah Dalgone's young Girl, and others mentioned, p. 80, 81, 111, 115.

^q Exactly like that mentioned by De Caladon. Cry, p. 108.

delivering it; and so would as naturally imitate different Preachers in the Repetition of their Sermons, as ^r *Strada* did his several Orators, Historians and Poets in their different manner of Composition. This is a very uncommon Talent, at least for one in her Circumstances. Yet I persuade my self neither Mr. *L.* nor Sir *R. B.* nor any of their Tribe, will allow it to be the Effect of a miraculous supernatural Inspiration; nor does she in the least pretend it is.

Mr. *L.* in his *Relation of God's dealing with himself*, ^r tells of divers Persons on whom Words of healing were pronounced in order to the Cure of their Sickness, Blindness, or other Infirmities. But he tells us likewise at the same time, that this Promise was not fulfilled on several to whom it was made, and moreover, that what he relates was in part ^c *from the Accounts he had from other Persons*, and so he may either have been misinformed, or may perhaps have in some respect mistaken his Information, either in the whole of some things related, or at least in some part of them. And though he professes to publish them ^u *according to an Order received by the Spirit*, yet it is to be observed, that he speaks very doubtfully of them, and leaves it to the Consciences of the Persons mention'd, to give Enquirers what Account they think fit; adding farther, that he shall be ready to own and redress any Mistake therein. Which upon a little Recollection he will find not to consist with his Declaration of publishing these Facts *by the Order of the Spirit*; unless he can suppose the Holy Spirit would order him to publish Mistakes. Which were so blasphemous a Supposition, that when he reflects upon it, I hope he will sincerely and mournfully repent, of his ha-

^r Proluf. Academ. l. 2.

^c P. 24, 25, 26.

^t P. 27.

^u Ibid.

ving ever given just occasion to any to suspect him guilty of it.

And yet farther, he openly confesses, that of his Fifteen Instances here produced, one had a Bladder applied to the Tumor that was to be removed, concerning which I was about to offer it to the Consideration of such as are skilled in Physick and Surgery, whether it might not have been tinctured with some Chymical Preparation, or any other way have contributed as a natural Cause to dissolve this Swelling, but that I have at length met with ^w a very different Account of it. Another is represented only as upon the Recovery, and so might be far enough from ever being truly recovered. Five had received no Benefit from the Words pronounced over them. A Sixth but little. And another had not been heard of, which is a shrewd Suspicion, that he was not the better for it. Mrs. *Mosely*, though she did recover sometime after Mr. *L.* had been with her, yet as I am very well inform'd, had no Appearance of Benefit by the Words of Healing. The rest I know nothing of, nor need trouble my self to enquire; here being already sufficient Evidence, that the Promise made was not verified, according to Mr. *L.*'s own Account, to several, perhaps to the greater part of those to whom it was made. And then it is a necessary Consequence, that it must have proceeded, either from the Speaker alone, or from the Father of Lies, rather than from the Blessed Spirit of God, and so can be no Proof of a Divine Inspiration.

^w *Sir R. B. owns, that this Swelling was dress'd three or four times a Day (Answ. to Sev. Treat. p. 115.) Which does not look exceedingly like a miraculous Cure. And the Reflector upon this Answer of Sir R. B. makes no scruple to affirm, that this pretended Cure is a mere Compound of Fancy, Deceit, and Falshood, and is so declared to be by those that have sifted the Matter, and were Spectators of it. And gives a particular Account of the whole Transaction, p. 56 of his Reflections.*

In the *Cry from the Desert*, * one is said to tell by Inspiration, that there was a Number of good People nigh at hand, who in looking for the Assembly, had mistook their way in the Woods or Fields, &c. which might easily be by Concert. As might also the Discovery of the Woman without a Shift mentioned ^y by Sir R. B. the Letter found ^z in Languedoc's Sleeve. Others by rational Conjecture, and particularly ^a Abraham Mazel's Prediction of Brother Moulin's Death; especially considering it is not said when, or by which of the Enemies, or after what manner he should be slain. Such likewise the Detection of La Salle's Design ^b of killing Cavalier at Fons might be; and Mr. Allut's Encouragement to them ^c to look upon themselves as safe, if indeed they were in any sort of fear, and both ^d those Inspirations mentioned by Sir R. B. Or the Discoverer might have secret Information to build upon, as might be in the Vision of * Mareschal Montrevel at Allez; in young ^e Marion's Assurance of his Father's Deliverance; in ^f Gabriel Astier's Notice concerning the Woman at the Door, and the Case of ^g Mazorin's Snuff-Box, unless it were a mere Fiction, as seems not unlikely by his not suffering for it. ^h That there is a great deal of Trick and Delusion amongst them, is plainly shewn in the Instance of ⁱ E. Gray's Blackness in her Face, and Swelling in her Throat, and the Bone that was to have risen in it, and the present Cure that was to have been wrought upon her, is fully shewn in a short Discourse, gravely written and with an Air of Truth, and which the Author promises to

* P. 39. ^y Answer to several Treatises, p. 103.

^z Cry from the Desert, p. 62. ^a P. 93. ^b P. 63.

* P. 62. ^c Ibid. ^d Answer to several Treatises, p. 103, 104.

^e Cry, p. 92. ^f P. 115. ^g P. 46, 47. ^h P. 145, &c.

ⁱ The Honest Quaker, or the Forgeries and Impostures of the Pretended French Prophets and their Abettors. London, Printed 1707. and sold by John Morphew near Stationer's-Hall.

be sufficiently attested upon any occasion; adding moreover, that *Mr. Lacy, in his second part of his Prophetical Warnings, Licensed, and ordered to be Printed by the Eternal Spirit, has* disingenuously omitted the Story, though in the same Book, p. 96. he gives us an egregious Sample of his Presumption by pretending to stand the Trial of Fire. By this we may also easily judge of what is mentioned, not very unlike this, and said to be done near about the same time as to the ^k Recovering this same *E. Gray* out of a Fit of Strangling, which in all Appearance must have been voluntary and artificial; and from a pretended suddain ^l Blindness. Which sort of Proceedings are so far from proving the Truth of these Pretenders, either Doctrine or Mission, that they are an unanswerable Conviction of them, making it impossible for their greatest Admirers to vindicate some of them at least from the heavy Charge of affected Imposture.

Mr. Cavalier tells of ^m a beating as of a Hammer that he had in his Breast, which kindled a Flame that took him, and dispersed over all his Veins. And this is to go for another powerful Evidence of the Holy Spirit working in them. And yet supposing the Truth of the Fact, which is more than he can require of me, I could tell him of a Parallel Case, which I am apt to think he will not own to proceed from the Spirit of God. It is of a Quaker that to my own certain Knowledge has had the like violent Agitation in his Breast, and for ought I know the same Heat all over him. I could likewise farther inform him of ⁿ a wonderful POWER amongst the Quakers, that issuing from some one Person, is yet observed so sensibly to warm the whole Room that they who are near him that has

^k *Warnings, Part 2. p. 145.*

^l P. 111, 112, 113.

^m *Cry, p. 41.*

ⁿ See *Reply to the Switch for the Snake, p. 244, &c.*

it, will easily feel that it comes from him; and I have been assured by Persons of undoubted Credit, who had formerly been of that Sect, and experimentally felt what they affirmed. However, I am persuaded Mr. C. Mr. L. and the rest of them, will not think this a good Proof that the Quakers are divinely Inspired, or their Doctrines true.

But to return to *E. Gray*. Though as has been already observed, Mr. L. thought it necessary to omit the Story of her *counterfeit Strangling*, in the second Part of his Warnings, yet in the Preface to that Book he hints at ^o *an Operation of a Miracle upon her*, which he there acknowledges *some Persons present would not own to be so*. Which I take to be not only a very considerable Confirmation of what the *Honest Quaker* relates, but to shew also very plainly what sort of Miracles they make such a Noise with. And if this did not appear miraculous to those who saw it, it would become Mr. L. to shew what reason any others can have to believe it so, who can know nothing of it but from the Witnesses then *present*. He must presume very much upon his Hearers or Reader's Credulity, before he can promise himself such vain suspicious Attempts will pass for Evidence, of any thing but the Weakness and Confidence of those who venture to build upon so sandy a Foundation. And so sensible he is already of this, that he argues against the Necessity of plain and undeniable Miracles, ^p *Miracles* in his Phrase, *beyond any Criticism*, as what none can reasonably expect.

However, says he, ^q *I have already performed Miracles, and there shall be many wrote*; as if it were enough that he professes God to declare by his Mouth, that they *are performed*, and shall be wrote. Which any the vilest Impostor that ever was might profess as well as he. Whereas the Questi-

^o P. iii, iv, v.

^p P. vii.

^q Ibid.

on is not, whether Mr. L. has proclaimed Miracles to have been wrought, but whether any such have really been. His Business was to prove the Truth of what he asserts, by Miracles done as its Credentials, and here he proves the Truth of his Miracles only by what he asserts concerning them. Which is a direct contrary Method, and a plain Begging instead of proving the Matter in Debate. And is therefore as little to the Purpose as *E. Gray's Vision*, wherein she saw *Mr. L. carried in a Cloud, higher than the Tops of the Houses, and set down at divers Places, where sick and lame People were gathered together to be healed*, hereby intimating their Miracles to be Visionary and Vain, and to consist rather in their own Imaginations than in any real Effects upon such as were to be healed.

Hence therefore appears the first Defect of these pretended Miracles, that they have not sufficient Evidence of their being wrought. Here are divers Promises and Boasts, of illustrious Miracles, miraculous Predictions, miraculous Endowments, miraculous Operations. But then this one Charge lies against them all, that there is no tolerable Proof of them. Some have been ready, and others possibly may be, to believe and make Profession of them; but when all is done no Evidence fit to sway with a Wise Man has been, or can be produced in their Behalf.

2. Those Miracles whereby a Divine Doctrine or Mission is to be proved, must be, not [Trifling and

P. 131.

Dic quæso, quæ utilitas est, ostendere statuas ambulantes? Latrare æreos & lapideos canes? Salire montes? Volitare per ærem? Et alia his similia? quæ dicitis fecisse Simonem. Quæ autem a bono sunt, ad hominum salutem deferuntur; ut sunt illa quæ fecit Dominus, noster, qui fecit cæcos videre; fecit surdos audire; debiles & claudes erexit, languores & Dæmones effugavit, mortuos fecit resurgere, & alia his similia, quæ etiam per me fieri

and Useless, but for the Benefit of Mankind. Such were the Miracles of our Saviour and his Apostles, *who went about doing good*, healing the Sick, curing the Lame, opening the Eyes of the Blind, and the Ears of the Deaf, loosing the Tongues of the Dumb, casting out Devils, and raising the Dead. Sometimes, tho' not often, heavy Judgments were inflicted upon such as gave a just occasion for it, as in the Case ^t of *Ananias* and *Sapphira* ^u of *Elymas* the Sorcerer, ^w of the irreverent *Corinthians*, ^x of Excommunicates delivered over to *Satan* to be buffeted by him, &c. yet these were never appealed to as Evidences of their Mission; and besides were done only in such a manner as to be for the Benefit of divers of themselves under these two last Classes, but all for the good of others, by deterring them from the like and other Offences. The rest of the Miracles then wrought were more immediately advantageous to those that felt the happy Effects of them. They were never Light and Trivial, but Remarkable in themselves, and done upon some weighty Occasion, and for the good of those on, and before whom they were done, and most commonly for their Advantage in this, as well as the other World.

And they that come in our Saviour's Name, as extraordinarily commissioned by him, are questionless obliged to follow the same Method; not seek-

fieri videtis. S. Clem. Recognit. l. 3. c. 40. And accordingly Irenæus charges the Simonians and Carpocratians, that amongst all their pretended Miracles they could not make the Blind see, or the Deaf hear, nor drive away any Devils, unless possibly some of their own raising, nor cure the Weak, the Lame, the Paralytick, or such as were afflicted in any other part of the Body, l. 2. c. 56.

^t *Acts* 5. 5, 9, 10.

^u *Ch.* 13, 11. &c.

^w *1 Cor.* 11. 30.

^x *1 Tim.* 1. 20.

ing^y like *Mahomet*, to cleave the *Moon*, make Trees remove and meet him, Stones salute him, and Water issue forth from between his Fingers, a Beam to groan, and a Camel to bring its Complaint to him; nor like the Abbot^z *Honoratus*'s causing a Stone to hang in the Air; or the forenamed *Sabatai Sevi*'s Pillar of Fire; or^a *Philumenas* thrusting a great piece of Bread into a narrow-mouth'd Bottle, and taking it out again whole with her Fingers; or^b other like Performances; which if true, would none of them have been of that Nature, as that a Divine Interposal might reasonably be conceived to have been in them. The Miracles, I say, of our Blessed Saviour and his Apostles and Disciples were nothing like these, but had a more effectual tendency to work upon those to whom they were shewn, and for the most part were naturally beneficial to such on whom they were wrought. And so were very different from many of those our present Pretenders depend so mightily upon. Such as Mr. L's^c sliding along the Room, *with his Heels, Calves of his Legs and Knees close touching each other*; or his^d hopping cros the Room at another time, *without bending his Hams*. Such Antick Gestures as these do by no means suit with the Influence of the Holy Ghost, and are so far from bearing a Divine Testimony, if true, that they would seem much rather to proceed from the contrary Spirit. They are such pitiful Proofs of a Divine Mission, that one would wonder they should not be ashamed to

^y Alchor. ch. 54. Hotting. Hist. Orient. l. 2. c. 5. Abul-Pharai. Hist. Dynast. Dyn. 9. F. Simon *of the Religions and Customs of the Eastern Nations*, c. 15.

^z Gregor. Dial. l. 1. c. 1. ^a B. August. de hæref. c. 24.

^b De Gestis S. Petri. c. 33, & 45. Sulpic. Sever. l. 2. c. 4. B. August. Serm. de Sanctis xxvii. Arnob. l. 2. p. 50. Constit. Apost. l. 6. c. 9. B. Ambros. Hexarm. l. 4. c. 8. Lactant. l. 2. c. 8.

^c *Warnings, Part 2. p. 62, 63.*

^d P. 116.

appeal to them. Nor could they ever persuade themselves to do it, but for want of true and real Miracles.

3. To make their Miracles effectual to the End they are designed for, it will be necessary that they be plain and visible, such as all that are present may be Judges of. Thus our Blessed Lord and his Apostles, took care visibly to work their Miracles, and in such a manner, that whosoever beheld them must needs be convinced, that there was no Deceit or Delusion in them, but they were truly and undeniably wrought, and were undoubted Effects of a supernatural Power in those who wrought them. None who saw a blind Man, undoubtedly such, restored to Sight, a Cripple from his Birth made perfectly whole, or a dead Man, known certainly to be so, raised to Life again, but might easily discern whether the Fact were true or not? And thus it must be in all other Cases, wherever any Signs and Miracles are wrought to attest whatsoever Doctrine, as the Preacher of it would promise himself any Success from them. And indeed if they be not evident to the Satisfaction of those who are to be convinced by them, they are as Useless as if not done at all. And the Reason is plain. For what Influence? What Authority can the most miraculous Effect in the World have, upon such as very much doubt, or perhaps flatly deny, and utterly disbelieve it; and so need as much Proof of the Miracle it self as of the Truth to be proved by it?

Yet thus it is with these Pretenders. Sir R. B. speaks in a very solemn manner, of the Discovery of divers Persons unknown Thoughts and Designs. And supposing the Facts to be of that importance he would have them, though it is plain enough they are not so; and supposing moreover that Sir R. was sufficiently satisfied of the Truth of

them: What is all this to us, who have nothing else to depend upon for them, but his own bare Word, no other Witnesses, nor any real Effects of them? Were this enough to convince an Infidel? He cannot pretend it is. He might full as well look to be believed on his saying, *They do Prophecy*, without offering any Confirmation of it, as upon his saying, *They confirm their Prophecies by Miracles*, whilst these Miracles do not appear, and we have only his own single Word to rely upon in either Case.

John, surnamed *Lacy* declares ^f of *E. Gray*, that being set for a Sign, and for a Trial of the Faith of the Persons present, in the Operation of a Miracle upon her, some of the Persons present would not own it. And what good reason they had for their Dissent, I have already noted from the *Honest Quaker*, and shall not stand to repeat his Testimony here. But shall rather take notice of another like Feat, said to be wrought upon the same *E. Gray*, which is such as may be endlessly multiplied every hour of the Day. For the Business in short was this. ^g She sat with her Feet and Hands hanging down, as benum'd and useless, and said she could not stir; but in a while appeared in her usual Health and Vigour, after Mr. *Lacy* had spoken to her; and this he gives out as another irrefragable Miracle. Though in truth there appears nothing more miraculous in it, than was to have been in the Beginning of the last Century, in the Intrigue at *Bilston* in *Staffordshire*. ^h Where a Boy instructed for the Purpose, was in such Agitations, that his Father, Mother, Neighbours, and many other People, with Admiration, did absolutely think him possessed with a Devil, for he had strange sudden, violent, distorting Fits, that appeared to all the Beholders contrary to Nature, and being not full

^f *Warnings, Part 2. Pref. p. iii.*

^g *P. 90, 91, 92.*

^h *Wilson's History of King James, p. 107, &c.*

fifteen Years old, it could not be imagined that any thing of impostory (as the Historian phrases it) could result from him. Yet being sometime after detected by the Care of good Bishop Moreton, he confessed it to be all Contrivance and Artifice, and ⁱ that he was taught his Lesson by four Romish Priests, giving him some Money, and many fair Promises, if he would be conformable to their Instructions, that they might have the Credit of dispossessing him. Which so exactly resembles the Case of Mr. L. and E. Gray that it will be a very difficult matter to prove any thing more Supernatural in the one than in the other. And when Mr. L. can do it, *Erit mihi magnus Apollo*; and I will heartily thank him for undeceiving me. And yet behold the Impiety of this Deceiver, as if it were a certain Visitation from Almighty God, she was not afraid to bespeak herself as from the Spirit in these words, ^k *Fear not, my Child, this was but to try you, to see whether you had Faith to believe that I could restore you again.*

At another time Mr. L. lays himself down upon a Bed for about three Hours, ^l remaining all that time as in the condition of a bedrid Person, and at length sat up again coughing, spitting and sweating. And his recovery out of this condition is reported as another of his Miracles. But though he smiled and spake chearfully, he was not perfectly cured yet: For he was taken with a decrepit Lameness in his Inspiration, as himself proceeds, that he was not able even to halt, and with weakness was bowed down almost double; but upon taking some Posset-Drink which accidentally was at hand, was instantly cured. And I presume every one will grant here was no more counterfeiting than before in E. Gray's strangling, and that his Cure was to all intents and purposes as miraculous as hers.

ⁱ P. 110.

^l P. 96, 97.

^k Warnings, part 2. p. 93.

As was also the same ^p E. G's *Gift of discerning Spirits*, whereby she discovered *an Evil one* to be in the Chamber amongst them ⁿ till J. A. as miraculously expelled it, *commanding it in the Name of his Master the great King, to go, depart, and that instantly, lest otherwise Vengeance should immediately fall upon it.* Whereupon E. G. thus triumphantly encourages the Company, by way of congratulation for their Deliverance. ^o *Yes, he was here, and I gave you timely notice that you might take care. But I have given power to my Servant to banish him whenever he comes. But fear nothing, he shall not hurt you, I will keep you.* A notable instance of divine Assistance! but such as Persons of any common Modesty, or who had any the least sense of Religion must be ashamed of, and abhor from the very bottom of their Hearts. It would put one out of patience to hear such Impostors. And yet ^p Mr. L. talks much at the same rate. But what Sir R. B. relates must have been much more apparent, had we but sufficient Authority for it. He gives an account of ^q *their being trodden upon, kickt and beaten, putting their Hands upon burning Coals, falling flat upon the Floor at once like a Board, without the bending of the Knee, or any thing to break the Fall, so that the Forehead has come to the Ground as soon as any other part: As also in like manner falling backward at once, and without the least bending of the Ham, so that the Skull has come to the Floor as soon as any other part of the Body whatsoever; as himself professes to have seen.* But withal what were yet stranger, that the very middle of the Skull (having no Peruke on) struck against the pointed corner of the Seat of a Cane Chair, and with such force as made it rebound off and turn off the whole Body half a Yard on one side, from the

^m P. 132.ⁿ P. 133.^o P. 134, 135.^p Warnings, part 2. p. 115, 116, and 135.^q Answer to several Treatises, p. 42.

place where it would otherwise have lain, and yet in truth that the Person being in an Ecstasy felt it not.

These Passages I grant were much more remarkable, if the Facts had been done before sufficient Witnesses, and so they had had others to vouch for them besides themselves, and who might better have been relied upon. And yet even in this Case I might have challenged Sir R. and all his Tribe to shew, that from the beginning of the World to this Day, any one such Ecstatical Miracle was ever shewn upon a true Prophet of the Lord; or that any of them ever read of the Holy Spirits diverting it self with such ridiculous Deliverances as these, which would much better become those of the Infernal Region. And no sort of Prodigy therefore can be more improper in order to the establishing a divine Dispensation.

Sir R. relates also divers Cures wrought upon ^r himself in a very extraordinary manner, *after words in a very solemn manner pronounced to him*, and that he thereupon found himself eased of divers lasting and painful Diseases. But then here are two things to be observed. First, he owns the Words spoken to him were *not an immediate Promise of present Relief*; which there is all the Reason in the World to conceive would have been, if such a wonderful Effect was immediately to follow upon them. And we may be sure whoever it was that pronounced the Words, he would not have been so far wanting to himself and the Reputation of his Cause, as not to say how speedily this should come to pass, or rather would have commanded his Diseases to be immediately gone, as our Saviour did the Leprosy, *St. Matt. viii. 3.* And his not doing something of this nature argues him to have spoken by guess rather than upon any direction given from above.

Secondly, It would have added much to the Credit of this Cure if it had been attested by some noted Physician that had been well acquainted with the nature of this Gentleman's Distempers and of his sudden Recovery. I cannot but suppose a Person of his Quality would make use of more than one Physician in so long a time, and under such a Complication of Diseases. And his own Reason would naturally have directed him to get the Certificate of some or all of them, upon so unusual and so weighty an occasion. I am very loath to question the Truth of what a Gentleman of Sir R's Quality and Character so solemnly affirms : But I am persuaded upon second Thoughts he will himself acknowledge his own single Assertion too weak a support for a Matter of this Consequence : Especially since if the Fact be true, he might easily have had his Physicians and divers other of his Acquaintance, to confirm it. Which the Reflector upon his Answer [†] positively affirms to have been *demanded, but never complied with*, and that he has hereby *rendred all suspicions*.

4. Another requisite to the Efficacy of Miracles is, that they be actually wrought, not barely promised as divers are by these Pseudo-Prophets. I do not remember that any one of all who pretended to the Gift of Prophecy before these, ever undertook to support his Pretence by a promise of Miracles to be afterwards wrought, and Supernatural Gifts to be bestowed in confirmation of it, but only by apparent Miracles wrought, or some other Token of a Divine Mission shewn to those to whom they prophesied.

Our Saviour indeed foretold to his Apostles, that when he [†] *was gone from them* he would certainly send the *Paraclet*, the Comforter or Advocate ^u *to*

[†] *Reflett.* p. 57.

[‡] *St. John* 16. 7.

^u *Ch.* 14. 16.
abide

abide with them, ² *to teach them all things, and bring all things to their Remembrance whatsoever he had said unto them;* assuring them they should in a few Days be endued with *Power from on high*: And again saith our Saviour, ^{*} *When the Comforter is come, whom I will send unto you from the Father, even the Spirit of Truth which proceedeth from the Father, he shall testify of me.* But then it is to be remembered that these Promises were made for the encouragement of the Apostles themselves, not as Signs to others; who, tho' they must needs be mightily confirmed in the Faith, by the wonderful accomplishment of what was thus foretold, were yet never invited to become Christians upon this Promise made them. And accordingly we find the Apostles directed to forbear the exercise of their Function till they should see it fulfilled, both for their own satisfaction and in order to the Profelyting of such as they should be sent to preach to. [†] *Behold,* says our Saviour, *I send the Promise of my Father upon you; but tarry ye in the City of Jerusalem until ye be endued with Power from on high*: Hereby cautioning them to wait for their Credentials, the miraculous Effusion of the Holy Ghost qualifying them to speak with Tongues, and work Signs and Wonders, before they took upon them to publish the Gospel through the World.

Directly contrary to the Method of these Pretenders, who go about preaching their new Doctrines, and at the same time declaring Tongues shall be spoken and Miracles shall be wrought in Testimony of the Truth of their Revelations. Or if Mr. L. does say ² there are Miracles already, he leaves the Matter as unsatisfactory as if they were not; for he tells his Readers they must wait for an account of them from themselves. *I have,* says he, *already performed things miraculous*; but then it follows not,

[†] Ver. 26.

^{*} St. John 15. 26.

[†] St. Luke 24. 94.

² Warnings, part 2. Preface, p. v.

which you have seen and cannot deny, but *as you'll have it related.* So that here their own words are to be taken for these Miracles, and whosoever will not rely entirely upon them must be put off till hereafter. For so it follows, *The reasons why I do not so speedily give the like demonstration to others, it becomes every one of you to allow me, not just when you require it, or desire it to give you.* And again, ^a *Wait therefore you that think any who do speak representing my Person, wait therefore to see Vengeance upon their Head if they be counterfeit.* And you shall surely see that upon the Heads of these Messengers of mine, or you shall see the strokes of this Hand upon the Head of those that audaciously and pertinaciously impute Cheat and Counterfeit to him. Is it not equal, O ye my Creatures, to leave me judge of so great an Affair as concerns the whole World and the Honour of my Christ. This is not an usual Dispensation, I shall therefore give it an extraordinary Attestation. Which is all still but Promise, and Delay, and Evasion; and being what might be said by any Impostor, can be no manner of Proof that these Men are not such.

This is gross enough. And yet Mr. L. declares farther in the same Preface, that such as will not rest satisfied with these Promises, but want Miracles to be done amongst them, which themselves may see and judge of, those that will not take things blindly upon trust, but seek for some real ground of their Faith, shall be sure to meet with a disappointment. He had said before, ^b *Those that would seek with a true Heart, desirous to congratulate the Dawn of the great Day of the glorious Appearance of the mighty King, they are not to expect Meridian Light:* As much as to say, they are not to look for clear convictive Evidence, but must be content to take up with Promises and doubtful Miracles, such

^a P. vi.

^b P. iii.

as that of *E. Gray's* Strangling upon account of which these words were spoken. And here again he adds, *Without other Proofs, whereof there are many, to expect immediate Miracles; for every Man has equal Authority to expect it as another: and if every Man should be dubious of what he does not see, and if he be dubious of the Miracle it self, whether it be or be not within the power of Natural Causes; why then to expect Miracles that shall be ever beyond any Criticism; and for every Man to expect to be Eye-witnesses of such? Was there ever such an expectation in the World? Who had been Christian at this rate? However I have already performed Miracles and there shall be many wrought. But them that absolutely insist upon that, the only Proof they will admit, they shall be rejected.* I will not undertake to answer for the Grammar, Sense or Coherence of this bold Period, any more than of some others in these Books of Warnings: However, I take the meaning of it to be plainly this, that God will accept of none who insist to see Miracles wrought by these Pretended Prophets, and will not entirely depend upon their Word, and rest satisfied that themselves profess to have done Miracles, and shall do others; that is, that will not believe them to be Prophets sent by God without any other Proof but their own Affirmation. And yet here is an amazing Interrogation, by which themselves manifestly disprove their being so. *Who, says Mr. L. had been Christian at this rate?* Plainly intimating our Blessed Lord to have given no better Evidence for the Truth of his Gospel, than these Mens bare declaration amounts to: Which is such a blasphemous misrepresentation of our Saviour and his Miracles, together with those of his Apostles and other Disciples in the first Ages of the Church, that neither *Spinoza* nor any of his Followers have talked more ravingly than

this Gentleman does, even whilst he is endeavouring to evince, that himself and his Followers are sent in pursuance of our Saviour's Incarnation and Preaching of the Gospel, and to introduce a more glorious State of his Church and Kingdom than has hitherto appeared. *By their Fruits therefore ye shall know them. Men do not gather Grapes of Thorns or Figgs of Thistles.* Where such pernicious and detestable Suggestions occur, the cloven Foot too manifestly discovers it self to leave it any longer doubtful, from whom these Inspirations proceed, and who is the Father of them. If any think this too hard a Rebuke for what is thus said, I would be glad to be taught by such what else can be the meaning of it. The words immediately foregoing are in as general Terms as may be, and necessarily take in the first as well as the latter Times of Christianity; in neither of which, according to Mr. L. immediate and undeniable Miracles were to be expected. For these are his own words, *Was there ever such an expectation in the World?* If these Miracles were never to be expected, then not from our Saviour or his Apostles. And then it follows, *Who had been Christian at this rate?* Which must imply, that the first Christians were converted without the sight of any such Miracles, in flat Contradiction to the positive Doctrine of all the Evangelists. It very ill becomes one who would be thought to come from God, and to speak and act in his Name, to build his own Fabrick upon the Ruines of our common Christianity, as Mr. L. does in this place; whilst to silence his Disciples and prevent their dissatisfaction for want of present and real Miracles, he seeks to persuade them that undoubted Miracles were not necessary in order either to its Plantation or Progress; and that had People then demanded any clearer Evidence of this kind than what Mr. L. boasts of now amongst his Abettors, very few, or rather none at all might have been expected to turn Christians.

itians. The horrid Impiety of which one insinuation is an abundant Caution to such as love their own Souls, to be continually upon their Guard against the Author and Favourers of it.

Irenæus^d relates of *Marcus*, the head of the *Marcosian* Gnosticks, that he encouraged his Female Followers with much the same Promises that Mr. L. makes to his especial Favourite *E. Gray*; and that hereupon they presently fancied themselves supernaturally enlighten'd, and began to prophecy: But adds withal, *Εἰκός ὅ αὐτόν καὶ Δαίμονα τινὰ παρέδεον ἔχειν, &c.* That he seemed to have some confederate Demon, by whose Help he both prophesied himself and empowered such Women to do it as he thought fit. What can we think he would have said of Mr. L. if he had lived to hear him vent his New pretended Inspiration; and particularly had observed him to reflect upon the Miracles whereby our Religion was settled in the World, in such a manner as this now mentioned?

But to keep to the Point I am upon, namely, our modern Pretenders vain Promises of Miracles and Languages. ^e *Did not I promise thee Languages?* says Mr. L. to *E. Gray*; thy own Ignorance is no bar to the Expectation of them. ^f *The Sun shall not Eclipse thy Brightness, O thou Morning Star. Thou also shalt work Miracles in this City. Thou shalt heal the Sick. Thou shalt speak Languages.* At another time he says, ^g *Signs and Wonders I have promised, and the time is come that I should discharge my Bands given to many of my Children.* At another time he represents the Spirit^h as speaking to himself, and pre-informing him what an Instrument of God's Glory he should be, and what a Blessing to the whole Nation;

^d Adv. Hæres. l. 1. c. 8.

^e Warnings, part 2. p. 90. see also p. 91. and Account of the French Prophets, p. 52.

^g P. 66.

^f P. 21.

^h P. 27.

that by his Voice and Touch the Sick and Languishing, Weak and Helpless, should be raised to Health and Vigour, besides other Powers that should be conferred upon him; and this in a little time. And again ⁱ promises to *many in this City miraculous Powers, such as God only can work*; and not to this City only, but that ^k *Signs and Wonders* should be done in all Parts, in other Countries. As the two *Alluts* also promise ^l full Power should be given, Healing, and surprizing Miracles should be wrought, fiery Tongues should light upon them, and their Enemies should be amazed at the Effects of them; and this too very speedily. Here are very ample Promises of Tongues, Healings, Miracles to be wrought both here and in other Nations; and in a very little time. But if any enquire as to the accomplishment of them, he will find the Event no way answerable, that they are all but vain Words and mere confident Boastings whereby to *beguile unstable Souls*; and that as *Irenaeus* complains of the Hereticks of his time ^m *seducere nituntur insensatos*, they only study to delude *their senseless Followers, producing no Fruit or Advantage to those on whom they give out their Miracles to have been done*. There is nothing in any of these Pretences but what others might promise as well as themselves, and with full as good effect as to the Completion of them; which is none at all.

And yet there is another sort of Miracles likewise promised, which I therefore think my self concerned to take notice of before I quit this Article, and that is of *Flying* and of *Walking* in the Air, or on the Water. ⁿ *I will walk*, says Mr. L. *upon the Water and in the Air*. And again, ^o *Why should not he walk upon the Water or fly in the Air?* In relation to which Promise it is not only observable, that we

ⁱ Part 3. p. 81.^k P. 107, 108, 112, 120, 125, 172.^l Part 2. p. 114, 123, 131, 135.^m L. 2. c. 57.ⁿ *Warnings*, part 2. p. 120.^o P. 125.

have no notice of either of these Predictions having ever been fulfilled, unless *Sliding* or *Hopping* may be called *Flying*: But besides it is not to be forgotten that we never read of any who pretended to fly by Miracle, and as an attestation to their Doctrine, and a means of gaining Profelytes, but known Magicians, or such notorious Hereticks as might reasonably be suspected to be acted by an evil *Genius*. Of the former sort were ^p *Pythagoras* and *Abaris* amongst the Heathens; and amongst the Christians, ^q *Simon Magnus* anciently, and ^r *Major Wier* of late; and of the others ^s *Theodotus* the *Montanist*. And I presume Mr. L. will not reckon it any mighty honour to be enrolled amongst these, or to have been under the influence of such a Spirit as they are said to have had. Most certainly his following them herein will be no Evidence of a divine Inspiration, but as opposite to it as Cold is to Heat, or Darkness to Light.

5. To make these Miracles the more effectual, it would be requisite that they be wrought in the publickest manner that may be, and upon Strangers rather than their own Disciples, who may justly be suspected to be in a Plot with them, and to make shew of Cures or other Miracles, where in reality there are none. It is certain the Testimony of one Foreigner, especially of a known Adversary, will sooner be believed than the relations of many of

^p Iamb. de vit. Pythag. l. 1. c. 28.

^q Constit. Apost. l. 6. c. 9. Epiphan. Hæres. 21. c. 5. Arnob. adv. Gent. l. 2. p. 5. B. Ambros. hexaem. l. 4. c. 8. B. August. To. 10. Serm. de Sanctis xxvii. Sulpic. Sever. Hist. Sacr. l. 2. c. 41.

^r Ravillac. Rediv. p. 40. ^s Foregoing History of Montanism. Art. 5. Sect. 2.

^t —Τοῖς δὲ ἡμεῖς πεισάσιν ἀναγκαίως χωρηστέων· ἢ εἰς τὸ ἐνερθέντων ὠφέλειαν· ἀλλ' εἰς τὸ ἀπίστων συγκατάθεσιν· ἢ ἕως ἃς ἐπεισεν ὁ Λόγος τέρας ἢ τὸ σημείων δύσωπηση δυνάμεις· τὰ δὲ σημεῖα ἔ τοῖς πειστέων ἡμῶν, ἀλλὰ τοῖς ἀπίστοις Ἰουδαίων τε καὶ Ἑλλήνων. Constit. Apostol. l. 8. c. 1.

their professed Friends: And their proper Method therefore had been to shew their Power amongst these, upon all occasions, and in such places where they might be most conspicuous. *Moses* wrought his Miracles not upon the *Israelites* but upon *Pharaoh* and his People, who clearly saw and felt to their cost, ^u *The Finger of God*, as the Magicians were forced to acknowledge, *to be in them*. So our Blessed Saviour exerted his Divine Power in the publickest both place and manner, and upon all that applied themselves to him whether *Jews* or *Gentiles*, and in the Face of his most avowed Enemies the *Scribes* and *Pharisees*. And his Apostles in like manner not only spake with Tongues in all Places where they came, to the great Astonishment of the Hearers; but after their Lord's Example, wrought their Miracles also in the publickest and most effectual manner, to ^v the Conversion of Multitudes of their Auditors, and ^x the Conviction of their most obdurate Adversaries. ^y *Their Speech and their Preaching was not with enticing words of Man's Wisdom, but in demonstration of the Spirit and of Power, ^z with mighty Signs and Wonders, and mighty Deeds, by the Power of the Spirit of God.* And this wonderful Power bestowed upon them from Above they were not backward to exert, amongst such as were not yet converted to the Faith. But it is observable on the other hand, that they were not so ready to do it amongst themselves, and upon their own Profelytes. And hence we read, that when *Timothy* found himself indisposed, and in need of some help for the Recovery of his Health, *St. Paul* did not come and lay his Hands upon him, but directed him to a natural Remedy, as proper for one in his Circumstances, ^a *Drink no more Water, but use a little Wine for thy Stomach's sake and thine often Infirmities.*

^u *Exod* 8. 19. ^v *Acts* 5. 14. and 8. 6, 12, 13.
^y *and* 9. 35, 42. ^x *Chap.* 4. 16. ^z *1 Cor.* 2. 4.
^a *Rom.* 15. 19. ^b *2 Cor.* 12. 12. ^c *1 Tim.* 5. 23.

Whereas if we enquire concerning these Pretenders, their Miracles will ordinarily prove to be done amongst themselves only, or not at all. We are told of Cures effected upon ^b Sir R. B. upon ^c Mr. Jackson, upon E. Gray, and others. But upon Enquiry I find very good reason to question, whether any one of all those named, will so much as pretend to have received any Benefit this way, who is not one of themselves, and was not so before this Cure attempted. It is confessed by Mr. Lacy concerning ^d Mrs. Rusbatch, and others not of their Party, that no Effect has been observed to follow. As I observed before there was really none in Mrs. Mosely. So that here again all their Testimonies center in, and rest purely upon their own Veracity; and the Miracles so much gloried in, and whereby their new Dispensation was to have been confirmed, need yet farther Miracles to be wrought by way of Attestation to themselves.

6. And lastly, That any manner of Credit may be given to their Miracles they ought to be done upon the Spot, that People may see, and feel, and be fully assured of them; and not said, as the chief of those now talked of are, to have been done in a foreign Country. Who before these ever set up for a Messenger supernaturally commissioned by Almighty God, and yet came in this manner, or hoped to be believed upon no better Authority? Not Moses only, but others of the Prophets amongst the Jews, nor our Saviour only, but his Apostles and others, both in theirs, and ^e for some following Ages,

^b *God's Dealings, &c.* p. 24. *Answer to several Treatises*, p. 110, &c. Ibid.

^c *Warnings, Part 2.* p. 111, 112, 113, 145, 146, 149, 150, 194, 195, 196.

^d *God's Dealings*, p. 26.

^e Tertull. de animâ, c. 1. Scorpiac. c. 1. Apologet. c. 23, 42, 44, 50. Ad Scap. & De Testim. Animæ. Just. Mart. Apol. 1. Dial. cum Tryph. edit. Par. p. 258 A. & 315 D. M. Aur.

Ages, constantly took care to attest their Commis-
 sion by Signs and Wonders wrought in the Pre-
 sence of their Auditors. And particularly our Blef-
 sed Lord, when his Forerunner *John the Baptist* sent
 his Disciples to enquire concerning him, whether
 he were the *Messias* or not, refers them, as I noted
 before, to his Miracles for the Resolution of their
 Question. But now I must farther observe, that
 he does not tell them the Scene of these Miracles
 lay in another Place at a considerable Distance, and
 whence they could only hear of them by the Report
 of others, who it was possible might deceive them.
 He does not profess before them, that he had cau-
 sed *the Blind to receive their Sight, and the Lame to*
walk, the Lepers to be cleansed, the Deaf to hear, and
the Dead to rise out of their Graves, in some other
 part of the World, some distant City or Country,
 and some time before; no, he appeals to their own
 Senses for Satisfaction both to themselves, and their
 Master, who had sent them. *Jesus answered and*
said unto them, Go shew John again those Things which
ye do hear and see. Nor is God Almighty so sparing
 of his Miracles, but that he would be sure to work
 them here as well as in *France*, or any other Na-
 tion, and in as eminent and illustrious a manner as

Antonini Epist. apud Just. Mart. p. 101; and Dr. Worton's
 learned Notes on the Life of Marcus Aurelius Antoninus. Iren. c.
 hæc. l. 1. c. 8. & l. 2. c. 5. & Feuard. in loc. & c. 56, 57. &
 l. 5. c. 22. S. Cypr. ad Donat. p. 4. Edit. Oxon. de Idol. vanit.
 p. 14. & ad Demetr. p. 193. Orig. c. Cels. l. 1. p. 34.
 l. 2. p. 80. l. 7. p. 334. Lactant. l. 2. c. 15. Euseb. Hist. Eccl.
 l. 3. c. 37. l. 5. c. 3, 5, 7, 16. l. 6. c. 9. l. 7. c. 10. Socrat. Hist.
 Eccl. l. 1. c. 13, 17, 19, 20. l. 4. c. 24. l. 7. c. 8, 17, 23, 37.
 Sozom. l. 1. c. 10, 11. l. 2. c. 3, 6, 24. l. 3. c. 14. l. 4. c. 16.
 l. 5. c. 10. l. 6. c. 20, 28, 29. l. 7. c. 5, 26, 27. l. 8. c. 5. Theo-
 doret. l. 1. c. 18, 23. l. 2. c. 30. l. 3. c. 3. l. 4. c. 18, 21. Min.
 Fel. p. 89, 90. Edit. Ox. 1636. Faustin. & Marcell. lib. precum,
 p. 33, 34. Vit. S. Ambros. a Paulin. S. August. Confess. l. 9. c. 7.
 Retract. l. 1. c. 13. Epist. 67. De Civ. Dei. l. 22. c. 8. Prudent.
 peri Steph. p. 134, 135. Edit. Amstel. 1625. Arnob. adv. Gent.
 l. 2. p. 50. Lugd. Bat. 1651. St. Matth. 11. 4.

any are said to be done there, if he saw a just occasion for it, and those who pretend to come in his Name had any Message to deliver that might deserve such supernatural Attestation.

What Credit then can these Men reckon it to themselves or their Doctrine, to tell ^s of a Child thirteen or fourteen Months old speaking distinctly, and exhorting to Repentance; ^h of a new Star appearing in the Air, like that which conducted the Eastern Wisemen to *Bethlehem*, ⁱ of *Claris's* wonderful Preservation out of the midst of a great Fire, as stupendous if it had been true as the Deliverance of *Daniel* out of the Lion's Den, the three Children out of *Nebuchadnezzar's* Fiery Furnace, or ^{*} *St. John's* out of *Domitian's* Caldron of boyling Oil; ^k of *El. Marion's* pouring forth Tears of Blood in great Plenty, *florid Blood, as if spun directly from the Veins*, and with which not only his *Cloaths*, but the *Earth* was *stained*; ^l of Almighty God's damping the Force of Musquet-Bullets, that they either *dropt harmless*, or *rebounded* from those to whom *he would be a Shield*; with ^m other like stupendous Effects; what Credit, I say, can these Men reckon it to themselves to tell of such Matters transacted in *France*, whilst we see nothing like them done here. May we not justly call to them to let us see some of their Operations amongst our selves, *whatsoever things we have heard done there, do also here in this Country*? And till we can obtain some such visible Evidence it is too plain, that howsoever these Pretences may serve to amuse People, and may possibly persuade some of the Weaker and less Judicious to follow them, it is not to be thought any wise and good Man will ever have the better Opinion of them for such Reports. It would rather caution Persons to

^s *Cry from the Desert*, p. 15.

^h P. 27, 36.

ⁱ P. 51, 57, 66.

^{*} *Tertul. de Præscript. c. hæc. c. 36.*

^k P. 87.

^l P. 94.

^m P. 98, 120.

be upon their Guard against such Impostors, who because they cannot work Miracles here, seek to bear up their Reputation, by affirming them to have been wrought elsewhere.

Especially since we are publickly informed, that ⁿ the Three false Prophets, who have attested most in the ^o Sacred Theatre, are known to be Wretches capable of saying any thing to support their Design, and that it would not be difficult besides to discredit some of the other Witnesses, who are as Pillars of the Book. Nor is there in the Certificates produced at the Savoy the least Hints, as far as I can remember, that any of them, whilst in France was endued with the Gift of Prophecy; but they ^p had a quite different Character there.

Here Mr. L's blasphemous Question might be applied in a better Sense, and without any just Offence, *Who had been Christian at this rate?* How could our Religion have ever got footing in the World? How could it have held out against all the Opposition it met with from its multitudes of Adversaries, and settled it self in any part of the Earth, if it had had no better Testimony born to it than these vain Brags amount to? If the Apostles and Disciples, instead of working Miracles before those to whom they were sent had only told of great ones wrought somewhere else, but had no other Proof of their Commission, what Success could they possibly have hoped for? It might justly have been demanded in this Case, as *Tertullian* demands of the *Marcionites, Valentinians*, and other Hereticks, ^q *Vola igitur & Virtutes eorum proferri*; let them give us some evident Token, that they have this Power, they seem to value themselves so highly upon; and

ⁿ Account of the three French Prophets, p. 37.

^o The Cry from the Desert.

^p See Mr. C's Caveat against the Prophets, p. 51, 52.

^q De Præscript. Hæret. c. 30.

to convince us whereof their only effectual way would be, to put it in Execution before our own Eyes. Such Things as they say were done Abroad, let them do here at Home, that so we our selves may be Witnesses of this mighty Gift, may see and believe, and be converted, and join our selves to them. For till this is once done, they must blame themselves only, if they find Mankind wiser than to be carried away with an idle Plea of Miracles, which they can never be assured were wrought, but have all the Reason in the World to believe were not.

From these several Considerations it appears how little cause these Pseudoprophets have to boast of their pretended Miracles, as done by the mighty Power of God, since I have shewn that some of them are too mean and useless to proceed from the Holy Spirit of God, if they had been true; some and indeed the chief of them, and which would have best deserved the Name of Miracles, are said to be done a great way off, so that we have only their own Word for them, which is by no means a competent Ground of Belief; others seem only fictitious, looking too like Trick and Artifice to be ascribed to the Holy Ghost; others are only declared to be wrought amongst themselves, and are no way apparent to others; and take them altogether they are very Defective as to any Proof that ever they were done at all. There is no Evidence of the Fact, that ever they were wrought, nor any Reason to persuade a great part at least of them to deserve the Name of Miracles, if they had, nor is it credible that they should have proceeded from a Divine Power, if they could be made appear to have been supernaturally done. So that I take it I may fairly conclude this part of my Charge in the Words of an Author already appealed to; *The greatest wonder*

Reflections on Sir R. B's Answer to several Treatises, p. 13.

they (these Pretenders to Prophecy) ever performed is, that consummate Obstinacy they have contracted, which in the Face of all imaginable Evidence, still makes them persist in their Folly. And when Posterity shall read the whole Process of the Story, I doubt not but they will count it little less than a Miracle, that Men could be so infatuated.

Thus having sapped the Foundation of these Pretender's goodly Fabrick, and shaken the only two Pillars it rests upon, by shewing that whatsoever their Confidence be, they are really endued neither with the Gift of Tongues, nor Power of Miracles, I have hereby fully proved their Pretences to Inspiration to be wholly groundless and unreasonable. But I must not rest here; for I have some farther Considerations to offer, whereby to evince, that they not only have no Revelation to make, that is worthy of a new miraculous Attestation, nor any Proof of the Truth of their Pretences, but there are moreover unanswerable Objections against them, which utterly overthrow all they can possibly urge in behalf of a Divine Mission. As I shall shew in treating of my two following Propositions, together with some other like additional Observations.

III. *In order to the Proof of a Prophet's being sent by God, it is an indispensable Condition that the Accomplishment of his Predictions bear Testimony to the Truth of them. This may possibly argue him to be really what he professes himself to be; but the contrary, the failure of what he has taken upon him to foretel, will shew beyond all contradiction, that either he is a false Prophet, or no Prophet at all. And this Test therefore God himself ascribes to his own People Israel; Deut. 18. 21, 22. If thou say in thine Heart, How shall we know the Word which the Lord hath not spoken? When a Prophet speaketh in the Name of the Lord, if the thing follow not, nor come to pass, that is the thing which the Lord hath not spoken,*
but

but the Prophet hath spoken it presumptuously; thou shalt not be afraid of him. If there came to them one who prophesied in the Name of any false God, there needed nothing more than the Prophecy it self to discover him to be an Impostor. But supposing him to have come in the Name of the Lord God of *Israel*, and to have foretold some wonderful Event that was shortly to come to pass, as a Token of his being sent as a Messenger from God, and it did not come to pass accordingly, they were to look upon him as no other than a false Pretender, and to have no Reverence or Regard for him.

And not Scripture only, but Reason likewise teaches, that he whose Predictions come not to pass can be no true Prophet. This is so unquestionably true, and so agreeable to the common Notions of all Mankind, that the Challenge made to the False Gods of the Heathens, *Isa. 41. 22.* is no less applicable to such vain Pretenders. *Let them shew us what shall happen; let them shew the former things what they be, that we may consider them and know the latter end of them, or declare things to come.* Let them put the matter upon this Issue, that we may see whether Almighty God will bear witness to them by an answerable Event; who we may be sure will not be so far wanting to any that truly come on his Errand, as not to fulfil whatsoever he has authorized them to publish in his Name. He will certainly have a regard to his own Word, and will not fail, in his due time, to verify it in the Sight of those to whom it was sent. And by plain and necessary consequence it must be allowed, that such whose Predictions are not made good are not endued with the Spirit of Prophecy. They may be of their own, but cannot be of God's sending, who never neglects to accomplish whatever he designs.

There is one Case only wherein his Threatnings have not been fulfilled, as is usual, and as otherwise they most certainly would be; and that is of
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an hearty and sincere Repentance for those Sins, at which these Threatnings are levelled. And no less on the other hand, the firmest Promises of Mercy and Favour may be cancelled and come to nought, by the Undutifulness of those to whom they are made. This is very expressly declared by the Mouth of the Prophet *Jeremiah*, *Jer.* 18. 7, 8, 9, 10. *At what instant I shall speak concerning a Nation, and concerning a Kingdom, to pluck up and to pull down, and to destroy them: If that Nation against whom I have pronounced turn from their Evil, I will repent of the Evil that I thought to do unto them. And at what instant I shall speak concerning a Nation, and concerning a Kingdom to build and to plant it; If it do Evil in my sight that it obey not my Voice, then I will repent of the Good wherewith I said I would benefit them.* Agreeably whereto the *Ninevites*, by their strict Repentance and Humiliation upon the preaching of the Prophet *Jonah*, rescued themselves from the speedy Destruction he had foretold should come upon them, *Jonah* 3. 10. And on the other hand, the *Israelites* by their murmuring against God, and provoking him in the Wilderness, incapacitated themselves for entering into the good Land which had been so solemnly promised them, *Numb.* 14. 28, &c. Tho' God had faithfully promised and ratified it with an Oath, that he would settle them in *Canaan*, that good Land concerning which he had sworn to make them dwell therein, *ver.* 30. yet having by their distrust of his Goodness and Veracity forfeited their Right to this Promise, he positively declares that but two of all their Multitude who alone had behaved themselves more dutifully, should come to the Possession of their designed Inheritance.

And in all other Cases we may safely take it for a standing Rule, that God's Promises or Threatnings to any Person or People, must be understood to contain in them a tacit Condition, that these are to depend upon the Behaviour of those to whom they

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they are made. But where nothing of this nature intervenes to make an alteration, the failure of Predictions is to be looked upon as an undeniable Evidence, that the Predictor can in no other Sense deserve the Name of a Prophet than as it was given to the Prophets of *Baal*, and the *Groves*. And if this be applied to our present Pretenders, I see not how they will possibly contrive to make out any better Title to this Character. They make a noise with their Predictions, but nothing is more manifest than that they have grossly failed, where no such Condition as here mentioned could, and in other instances where is no manner of appearance that either of them did interpose; nor any reason can be assigned why Providence should have changed its intended Method.

1. This is undoubtedly the case of Dr. *Emes*, whose Resurrection was so expressly foretold to be the 25th of *May* 1708, that nothing could be more. In his Life time he was encouraged by Mr. *L.* during his Illness, *December* 5. 1707. in these words, "Fear not. Whatever I do for thy trial thou art in safe hands. For if I command thy Life away, yet I will restore it again; here even in this House thou shalt return to thy Dwelling-place. And again the next Day, * If thou diest I will raise thee. And the Day after his Death, *December* 23. it was said by one of their Children-Prophets in a publick Assembly, 'Tho' my Servant dies, have I not said I will raise

† Prophetæ vocantur tam illi, qui per divinationes & auguria aliquid indicant, & prædicunt, quàm qui legitimo modo id faciunt. Idcirco appellantur Prophetæ Baalis, & Prophetæ Haashe-rah, h. e. Lucorum, quoq; Prophetæ. *Maimon. Mor. Nev. l. 2. c. 32.*

"Sir R. B's Answer to several Treatises, p. 91, 92. and often elsewhere.

"Relation of God's dealings, &c. p. 29. and other places.

"Prediction concerning the Raising the dead Body of Mr. Tho. Emes, p. 1.

* Ibid.

† Pag. 2.

the Dead by the Hand of my Servant? That as you think impossible shall come to pass. And on the Day of his Burial, December 25. I. P. declares in the Audience of their whole Assembly, that ² the restoring of the Blind, the healing the Sick, the raising of the Dead shall decide it, after some Months being interred. And a little after, Yes I will raise the Dead. **BY THE SAME POWER THAT I HAVE RAISED UP JESUS WILL I RAISE THAT BODY NOW ASLEEP.** Yes, the same Body, and the same Face, tho' more lovely. Whereupon the former young Prophetess began again, and took upon her not only to confirm what was spoken, but to point out the Person that should raise this dead Man. ^a By the Hand of my Servant Lacy will I raise the Body of my Servant that is now dead. The same Prediction was also confirmed ^b three Days after by J. P. My Children, says he, ^c in a few natural Months you shall see **GREATER MIRACLES WROUGHT THAN THAT I DID IN RAISING LAZARUS.** For when I raised him he had been but four Days in the Grave; and I then commanded the Grave-stone to be removed: but you and the Inhabitants of this City are to see my faithful Servant, who has been buried, raised again within a few Months, in the Presence of Men. My Children, he shall come out of his Grave, without taking away the Earth that lies upon him, and shall untie his Shroud; and this not in private, but publickly, and in the Sight of all. —I protest to you with an Oath, that if ye answer me sincerely you shall see these things. And again, ^d With as little Trouble will I command him who is dead indeed, by the Mouth of him whom I have ap-

² Ibid.^a Pag. 30.^b Pag. 5.

^c Mes Enfants, dans peu de Mois naturels, vous verrez operer plus grands Miracles, que celuy que moi même j'ay operé dans Lazare. Lors que je resuscitaie Lazare, il n'y avoit que quatre jours, qu'il estoit dans le Tombeau, &c. *ibid.* The same is also repeated, p. 7.

^d Pag. 6.

pointed, as I do ^e him who is but a Sign. And again, speaking of this Body's foresaid Resurrection, he affirms, That ^f *Thousands and ten Thousands shall believe thereby; and that as he departed in the Belief of his Resurrection miraculously, as a Reward of his Faith shall he behold himself alive in the Room where he departed, &c.* The same J. P. adds farther, ^g *Know ye the Day in which my Servant was interred? Five Months from that Day, the 25th Day of May, you shall behold him rise again. —The very Hour that he was put in the Earth shall he arise. —The 25th Day of May, I say, ye shall see him arise that is now dead.* And the same thing is repeated again and again, and a Command said to be given from the Spirit to print it.

And accordingly says Mr. L. ^h *The same Spirit declared he would attest this publication of our Lord's approach as a Bridegroom, and return as a King, by raising Dr. Emes from the Grave the 25th of next Month, about five Months after his Interment.* And ⁱ Sir R. B. acknowledges this to be one of those Prophecies he calls decisive. Which is the more observable, because he had before declared a decisive Prediction to be such wherein the Truth of the Prophet is certainly at stake, and in which if God do not attest, then it was not God that spake by the Prophets, which though coming from one of themselves, and a zealous Patron of their new Dispensation, is yet as flatly against them as any thing I have said. We have it likewise Prophetically related by some of their own Mouths in Ecstasy, ^k that if within a few Months a fuller attestation of their Commission and Message were not manifested and confirmed by mira-

^e J. C. who lay before them as dead, but being taken by the hand instantly leaped up from the Ground.

^f Pag. 7.

^g Pag. 8.

^h Relation of God's Dealings, &c. p. 29.

ⁱ Impartial Account; and Answer to several Treatises, p. 87.

^k Way of trying Prophets, p. 2.

culous Signs and Powers from Heaven, and by working of such Miracles as were done by our Saviour and his Apostles, even to the raising the Dead; that then they would own themselves deluded.

It is moreover to be remembered that ¹ Mr. L. was ordered to appear upon the foresaid 25th Day of May at the Place of Interment, and there to wait with his Companions from Twelve at Noon till Six in the Evening; with Promise of an Angelick Host to guard them; and that on the other hand they should see those who would not believe without seeing, consumed before them.

Was ever a more solemn Prediction than this? A Prediction uttered by different Persons, at several Times and Places, and which Almighty God is represented as confirming with his Oath; the Place spoken of well known, the Time set, and he who was to be the Instrument in this Resurrection enjoined to be present, an Assurance being given him for his Encouragement, that he should have a Guard of Angels to protect him, and that he and his Party should see their Opposers consumed. Here is a large Variety of such unusual Circumstances, as if made good, must stop the Mouths of all Gain-sayers. And therefore says Mr. L. ^m *If it be performed by the Power of him who is the Resurrection and the Life, none that believe Moses and the Prophets will doubt that the fulfilling of the glorious things written of by them is at the Door.* But then I say on the contrary, and with every whit as much strength of Reason and Argument, that if they should happen to fail in this so famous Undertaking, there would be no room left for supposing these Predictions to proceed from a divine Revelation. If not only some part of them, but all should prove false, under what a dreadful Character must it represent, how

¹ *Predictions concerning raising, &c. p. 8.*

^m *Relation of God's Dealing, p. 29.*

had an Idea must it give us of the Predicters? Here is such a Miracle promised as was never done by our Blessed Saviour or any of his Followers. *Lazarus* was but till the fourth Day in the Grave, our Lord himself but till the Third; but these Men thought it too mean an Atchievement for them to raise one before his Body was putrified, and whilst his *Flesh had not yet seen Corruption*. And therefore they tell a very formal Story, that this Doctor was to be restored to Life when he had been no less than five Months under the Power of Death; and consequently his Body must have been corrupted to a great degree; and that God had promised and sworn this. But neither did their Pretence of God's Promise, nor his Oath avail them: For after all their Confidence they find themselves most shamefully disappointed: Their teeming Mountain has not brought forth so much as a little Mouse: Their great Design proved abortive: Mr. L's Heart had fail'd him some time before, and made him intimate ⁿ his dis-belief of their deceased Friend's coming to Life again as they had prophesied. And I never heard that Sir R. B. was in the least inclinable to hearken to the proposal made to him, ^o for settling his Estate *to the Use of the Poor, till the Day of this said Doctor's Resurrection*.

Nor was Mr. L. willing to perform his part when the Day came, for he was so far from calling *Emes* out of his Grave, that he durst not so much as once appear there for fear of being insulted by the Rabble upon his disappointment: Though he had been promised a Band of the Heavenly Hosts for his Protection, and had certainly a Number of the

ⁿ For the Resurrection of Dr. Emes, unless some appearances of Divine Attestation, far above what has been, do intervene between this and that Day, my Faith will not suffice to obey the Spirit in going thither where the Body lies. Relation of God's Dealings, p. 31.

^o Reflections on Sir R. B's Answer to several Treatises, p. 59.

City *Militia* order'd to keep the Peace, and prevent any Tumult which might otherwise have arisen by means of so great a Concourse, as was reasonably to be expected upon this extraordinary Occasion. Never was a fairer tryal of a Prophet's Predictions in the World than this, and never did less Truth appear in any. It is now above a Year since this famous Day so publicly presignified, and with all the Assurance that might be; and yet poor *Emes* is still in his Grave, and is like to continue there till the Sound of the Trumpet at the last Day; all thoughts of raising him being given over long ago.

And is it not an amazing Consideration, that after such unquestionable demonstration of these Mens enthusiastical Blindness, or worse, that when their utmost expectation has failed them, and they have not the least hope of effecting what they had so often and so confidently promised, they should not yet be put to silence, but still hold on their Course, and seek to propagate their Delusions as if all had succeeded according to their desire? Or what can such invincible assurance be ascribed to but God's withdrawing his Spirit from them, and delivering them up to a hardness of Heart as he did ^P *Pharaoh*, when he obstinately stood out against such powerful means of Conviction as had been afforded him; or as it befel the *Scribes* and *Pharisees* in our Saviour's time, of whom the Prophet *Isaiab* had spoken long before, saying, ^a *Hear ye indeed, but understand not, and see ye indeed, but perceive not. Make the Heart of this People fat, and their Ears heavy, and shut their Eyes; least they see with their Eyes and hear with their Ears, and understand with their Heart, and convert and be healed?* Such resolute persisting in their Errors so manifestly detected, casts a Blemish upon them that will be sure to stick

^P *Exod.* 17. 14. ^a *Isa.* 6. 9, 10. *St. Matth.* 13. 14, 15.
St. John 12. 40. *Acts* 28. 26, 27.

as long as their Names last. And how deep a Guilt they contract by it I had rather recommend to their own serious Consideration, than set it down here in its proper colours.

Especially if we call to mind how entirely baffled they have shewn themselves by their weak and useless Apology as to this Point, which we have had published under the Title of *Squire Lacy's Reasons why Dr. Emes was not raised, &c.*

1. The first and principal of which they declare to be, that they were threatned with a popular Rage and Violence which the Law of God and Nature allows all Mankind to avoid. Which Reason, if it may be so called, consists of two Parts; an Assertion that they were thus threatned; and a Plea that it was lawful to avoid the Danger they were thus threatned with.

First they say, *They were threatned with a popular Rage and Violence.* But who threatned them? They do not give the least Notice of any one that had done it; and till they do, it is but reasonable to conclude they knew none. That there would have been a great concourse of People to observe the Event of their Attempt, may easily be supposed. But what Danger would there have been to themselves from it? or what ground of Fear could they have, if they could suppose themselves in the right? When our Saviour raised *Lazarus* it must be owned that ^r *the chief Priests and Pharisees gathered a Council upon it, and from that Day forth conspired to put him to Death.* But it was not thus with the Spectators of the Miracle, for we read of no trouble given our Saviour at the Grave; but on the contrary, ^r *Many of the Jews, which came to Mary, and had seen the things which Jesus did, believed on him.* Wherefore had these Pretenders been able to do any thing like what they pretended, they were rather to

^r St. John 11. 47, 53.

^r Ver. 45.

have expected that the Company would be all astonished at so wonderful a Sight, and they should gain no small number of Profelytes by it. I am sure if they gave any Credit to their own Predictions they must have promised themselves a plentiful Harvest by means of this single Miracle, it having been most expressly foretold, that '*Thousands and ten Thousands shall believe thereby.*'

Or if any disturbance should have happen'd to arise, could they not rely upon God's good Providence? who they might assure themselves will not be wanting to those that are faithful in his Service, and who cannot more easily turn *the Counsel of Achitophel into foolishness*, than he can melt the Heart of the most enraged Persecutors into Clemency and Pity to his chosen Servants.

Besides, they were not to look upon theirs as a common Case; for themselves have told us, they had a Promise that "*an angelical Host should be their Guard.*" And had they not Faith to trust in these? If the Almighty were thus peculiarly concerned for their Safety, what apprehension could they have? What Evil could they fear from the Hand of Men? Whatever Violence might possibly have been attempted, *those that were with them would have been both more and more powerful than all that could be against them.* Wherefore their Fear in these Circumstances is a strong Argument of an inward consciousness, that they should by no means perform what they had promised.

And yet once more; Did they not very well know that the Magistrates had prudently taken care to prevent any Disorder that might otherwise have happened, by commanding the Train'd-Bands to attend for that particular purpose? How timorous soever they had been before, and how averse soever from making their appearance at the Place appoint-

* *Predictions concerning raising Dr. Emes. p. 7.*

† *P. 8.*

ed,

ed, ^w as Mr. L. owns himself to have been, yet after this care taken they might have laid aside their Fear, all Danger being now over for that time. They had all the Security they could reasonably desire, that no Inconvenience would befall them by doing this so great a Miracle; such as has not been seen in these latter Ages, in which not one is known to have been raised from the Dead; such as in all its Circumstances was never paralleled since the beginning of the World, from which Time till this Day, none has ever risen after lying five Months in the Grave.

And now, Secondly, If the Foundation sink the Superstructure must do so too. If they had no cause of Fear they could have no Reason to absent themselves upon that account. And since they assign no other cause of their Absence I must conclude they had none, except what they have not Humility enough to own, that they should have exposed themselves to Scorn and Derision, by not effecting what they had so long and so loudly proclaimed they would. Which is the Fault they are charged with, and which they in a manner own, by thus faintly endeavouring to clear themselves from it.

And yet there is one thing more in the Case which is very considerable: For Mr. L. is not only ^x particularly named as the Person that should raise this *Emes*, but is declared to have had an express Commission ^y to appear upon the Five and Twentieth of May then next following, in that Ground where my Servant, that is to say, where Dr. Emes lieth, and to wait there with others of his Party, from Twelve at Noon till Six in the Evening. And could any fear of Suffering, though it had not been without cause, as this was, warrant his Disobedience to so positive a Command? Our Blessed Saviour allows in

^w Relation of God's Dealings. p. 31.

^x Predictions, p. 3.

^y Pag. 8.

ordinary cases, *when persecuted in one City to fly into another.* But what is this to the Case of Mr. Lacy and those of his Accomplices, who were thus particularly required to attend at the Doctor's Grave at the time appointed? When *Agabus* had forewarned *St. Paul*, that upon his going to *Jerusalem* ² the *Jews* there would put him in Bonds, and deliver him up to the *Gentiles*; he would not suffer all the entreaties of his Friends to divert him from his Purpose, because he thought it his Duty to be there. *What mean ye,* says the Apostle, ^a *to weep, and to break my Heart? for I am ready, not to be bound only, but also to die at Jerusalem for the Name of the Lord Jesus.* And were these Men acted by the same Spirit this Blessed Apostle was, no doubt they would have been ready to take the same course he did; especially having had a particular Direction for it: And that they dared to take the contrary, shews them plainly to stand more in awe of poor feeble Men, than of the great God, whose Messengers they profess themselves. Which is no good sign of a Divine Inspiration, because it betrays a want of such inspired Courage as God is wont to bestow upon those he sends to be the Promulgers of a New Revelation.

And yet once more; Admit the worst of the Case, that they had been immediately, some of them at least, to die upon the Spot, was it reasonable for them to refuse such a Martyrdom? This is the hardest Case they could propose to themselves; and yet if their Prophecies did not deserve such an Attestation when called for, I am sure they were not worthy of those Languages and Miracles, and that Divine Inspiration they profess to come with. I have observed in treating of my first Proposition, that God never sends Prophets extraordinarily commissioned, but upon some very weighty and important Occa-

² Acts 21. 11.

^a Ver. 13.

sion: And if this were such, they ought to have resigned up themselves, and all their Interests and Concerns in this World, for the promotion of it. And I desire no clearer Evidence of their not believing themselves and their own Professions, than that they thought fit to withdraw upon so critical a Juncture, whereupon the Truth and Validity of all their Pretences had so entire a dependence.

2. Mr. L's next Plea is, That *the secret Decrees of the Prophetical Spirit are treasured up in the Fountain of Wisdom, and consequently past Man's finding out, especially by a rebellious and gainsaying People.* Now whatever he means by this, I hope he will not say the Prophetical Spirit is at liberty to violate the commands of God, and distrust his Providence, and break its own Promises, and falsify its Predictions. And yet unless he intended this, I cannot imagine of what use this Paragraph can be to him in the present Case. But he proceeds.

3. *Raising the Dead, restoring the Blind and Lame to their Sight and Limbs, are great Miracles, and only performed by Faith, Prayer and Fasting, but where a rude, enraged and revengeful Multitude are gathered together in defiance of Heaven it self, all Acts of Devotion are obstructed, and even suspended till a more seasonable time.* Here I would desire to know how Mr. L. or any of the rest, can prove the People who assembled at that time in *Bunhill fields*, to have been so *enraged and revengeful* as here represented. If they did not know this, it was very unfairly done to charge them so heavily: And if they did know it, it was incumbent on them to have given some tolerable Proof of their Revenge and Rage. But it may be, all are to be placed under this denomination, who come not into their New Dispensation. If so, I must desire them to observe, that such a sort of Charity as this will not exceedingly recommend either themselves or their Dispensation.

But suppose this Charge had been true, why must *all Acts of Devotion* have ceas'd upon this account? Could they not have gone to their Prayers, and been very serious and hearty in them till they found themselves interrupted by the People's unavoidable Rage and Rudeness? Could not each one, when interrupted, have yet darted up fervent Ejaculations to Heaven? Could they not in the midst of the Throng, ^b *Sine agmine verborum adire ad Dominum, quem ultro suis prospicere certi sumus*, as *Tertullian* phrases it? Could they not have put up short and secret, but devout and prevalent Petitions, which none but God should take notice of? Or could they not have spent as much time as they pleas'd in Devotion amongst themselves, before they came to the Place appointed, that afterwards they might have nothing to do but only to wait God's Pleasure as to the granting their Requests? All this they might most certainly have done, how numerous soever the Rabble were, and howsoever incensed against any of them. And would no doubt have chosen to do it, if they had been in good earnest and meant sincerely and honestly what they professed.

Or suppose yet farther, this had not been done, what Reason was there however why the dead Body should not be raised at that time, as had been foretold? Could the Rudeness and Fury of the Multitude be a just cause why a Promise made in the Name of God, and solemnly ratified and sworn to, should not be fulfilled? Or why they should cowardly absent themselves, when expressly ordered to be there? Is not a Christian? Is not a Prophet obliged to do his Duty, though outward Difficulties or Dangers might attend it? Though he were like to be laughed at and abused for it? Here I may take up Mr. L's own former Question, *Who had been Christian at this rate?* If our Saviour and his Apostles had followed

^b Tertull. de Orat. c. 1.

this cautious Method, our Religion would have made but slow advances in the World: Men would not have been over-fond of embracing their Doctrine, if they had shewn themselves afraid of being exposed or affronted for the publication of it. Whoever calls to mind how wonderfully ^c the courageous Sufferings of the Martyrs contributed to the Progress of Christianity, need not be told, how disadvantageous to the Promotion of the Gospel such a timorous dastardly Spirit, as that of these Pretenders, would have been, and what ill Effects they would have found of it. Nor can any thing favour more of a worldly carnal Mind, a want of Love to God and to our Blessed Saviour, who has done and suffered so much for us, and a faint endeavour after that Immortal Glory which is promised to such as are the happy Instruments of *turning many to Righteousness*, than their withdrawing themselves in such a time of Tryal, when they were so strictly obliged not to do it.

4. The next Plea is, That *the Prophetick Periods do not always take place, according to the punctual Warnings of the agitated Spirit in the Child of Adoption*: Which I take, if put into plain English, to mean, that God does not always fulfil his Promises or Threatnings at the time prefixed by him. And I have already shewn for what Reasons he does not, namely, the Disobedience or Repentance of those who are to be blessed or punished. If Mr. L. could instance in any other occasion of these Predictions not being fulfilled, he would have done well to produce it; for my part I know of none. And there is no room for either of these in the Case of Dr. Emes, who being laid in his Grave could do

^c Just. Mart. ep. ad Diogner. Tertull. Apol. c. ult. Lactant. Instit. l. 5. c. 13. Euseb. Hist. Eccl. l. 4. c. 8. Greg. Naz. ΣΤΗΛ. i. B. Hieron. ep. 62. ad Theoph. B. August. in Psalm. 32, 40, 132.

nothing that might either promote or hinder his promised Resurrection.

5. The last Plea is, The danger they should have exposed themselves to, by raising the Doctor in the midst of such a confused Rabble; and the much greater concern they profess themselves to have been under, lest they should have occasioned any publick Disturbance by it. Which Pretence I have before answered, by shewing how little reason there was to imagine either of these Effects like to follow, considering the Care that had been taken to prevent them; as also how undutiful it would have been to disobey a Command, owned by them to be truly Divine, for the avoiding either of these, or any other Temporal Inconveniencies.

So that in short, there never was in the World a Cause more plainly baffled; never a falser Prediction than this; nor perhaps ever more frivolous Excuses made for any that proved false.

2. Yet much such another was their other Prediction of raising *Stephen Halford*, a Cutler at *Birmingham* in *Warwickshire*; all the difference being, that his Death was foretold, with the particular Time of it, as well as his Resurrection, which was to be in the same Month. This *Halford* was a Dissenter, the Son of a Father, as I am very credibly informed, who was first Presbyterian, and then Quaker: And coming to *London* upon his own occasions, ^d was prevailed with to hear and see the Prophets, and that same Night had a very extraordinary Fit of Agitation. Not long after his return Home it was prophesied that he should die *February 3. 1707. the next time of their meeting*, and should lie dead three Days in the same Room, where they were then assembled, to be exposed to the View of all the Beholders, and then should be buried in the Church-

^d Letter from *Tho. Halford* of *Birmingham*, &c. Printed for *N. Hillier*, and sold by *S. Bunchley* in *Bearbinder-lane*.

yard, and should rise from the Dead the 20th Day of the same Month; and his Brethren should be there from Ten of the Clock in the Morning till Twelve; and should not meddle with the Ground, but should see him raised, according as had been said. And so confident were they of this, that one of them offer'd to have his Head cut off, and his Body sacrificed, if Stephen Halford did not die, and rise again at the Time and Place, as before appointed. And others denounced sudden Death and Destruction to all that did not believe the same. Yet when the fatal Day came, the Officers having by Order of a Justice of the Peace, broken up the Meeting, ^e one of them having Stephen in his Custody, it was given out that he should be brought by an irresistible Force to Mrs. Roberts's House (where they usually met) at Ten of the Clock that Forenoon, and continue there till Ten at Night, and then die. But notwithstanding all their Assurance, he still remained in the hands of the Constable, falling into an exceeding violent Agitation, so that Four or Six Men could scarce hold him. However he came safe out of it, nevertheless expecting that he should die at the Time and Place aforesaid. But the time prefixed being once past, he began to profess himself in a Delusion, and returned his Thanks to Mr. Spooner and Mr. Dagget, his Parish-Minister, (who also did him the Kindness to attend upon him) for their care of him. From this time his Agitations left him. And he is now convinced that the whole, both there and at London, was a Delusion of Satan. Here now is another undeniable Evidence of the falsity of their Predictions. And it is so full a Testimony against them, that the bare relation of it is an unanswerable Confutation of them; the lying Spirit in the Mouth of ^f Ahab's Pro-

^e Mr. Isaac Spooner, Constable; whose Name I have free Liberty to make use of, as attesting the Truth of this their disappointment.

^f 1 Kings 22. 35.

phets, being not more clearly detected by his Death, and his People's being left, ^g according to *Micaiah's* Prediction, *as Sheep without a Shepherd*, than these Men's Spirit was by this *Stephen Halford's* neither dying nor rising again, as was prophesied of him. And the happy consequence of it was, that not only this same *Stephen*, but his Associates in those Parts, *most, or all of them, were convinced of their Error and Delusion, and their Agitations left them.*

3. Their Promises ^h of walking upon the Water, and walking or flying in the Air, are not pretended, that I can find, to have been any otherwise fulfilled than by Mr. L's hopping about, or sliding cross the Room; which is far enough from being what any one would have taken those words to signify. And I appeal to their own Consciences, whether themselves did not for some time understand them in a very different Sence; and whether they would not have thought any one highly to blame, who should have assured them this was all that was intended.

4. The Reflector upon Sir R. B. gives us another instance of the failure of their Predictions. ⁱ He tells us ^k *a Person of Quality about the Town* (I give you his own Words) *had been threatned with severe Judgments that should fall upon him; and that many Months after falling ill of a dangerous Distemper, that was represented to them as Mortal; hereupon they cried up the Validity of their Predictions, and triumphed and rejoiced, as being confident of carrying their Point, by the Fall of this great Man.* However it pleased God to defeat their Expectations; and then they had no other course left to salve this failure, but by pleading, *that they conceived the honourable Party had humbled himself, and so God had restored him.* Tho' I dare say, to this Day he has found no reason to repent of his proceedings against them; which were

^g Ver. 17.

ⁱ Reflection, p. 41.

^h Warnings, part 2. p. 60, 118, 120, 125.

^k L. C. 7.

the only cause of their threatning him, and of all the Quarrel they had against him.

5. Another very remarkable Prediction was concerning the terrible Vengeance they had long since threatned should befall this City. They confidently foretold, and with all the assurance that might be, that ¹ *the destroying Angel should come and sheath the Sword of his Indignation in the Bowels of those that would not hear; and the Power of the Almighty should cause such Eccho's in this City, as that the City should tremble:* ^m That it was concluded, no Revoke, no Respite, the Sentence was past, and a horrible Tempest was to be poured out upon thee, O London! Smoke was to darken, *Ætherial Fire* to fall down, and ordinary Flames to mount up: That many of the adjacent Countries should weep, saying, the Glory of our Land is departed. Pale, lucid in Flames, the Sun shall behold thee. A dark Night shall make thee like an Oven. Palaces waste. Temples, Halts, wherein neither my Law or Gospel is much regarded, fallen. —O Death, Death, Death, reign thou also. ⁿ God Almighty was to plant his Battering-pieces against this City, which should be besieged and beat down by his Gunns; and was ^o to prove the Commission of his Messengers, by scourging us with the Rod put into their Hands, and a Sword hanging over, and falling down immediately from Heaven.

And this was to come to pass very speedily, ^p in a very little time, as is repeated over and over. Mr. L. forewarns us, That ^q by the general Scheme of Mr. Marion's Warnings, already Printed, and by the subsequent ones of him, and others that accord therewith, the first manifestation of Judgments was to be in

¹ Predictions concerning raising Dr. Emes. p. 2.

^m Warnings. part 2. p. 68.

ⁿ Part 1. p. 9. Urbem propinquam Machinis bellicis aggrediar. Obsessa erit. Tormentis meis debellata.

^o Part 2. p. 163.

^p P. 116.

^q Pref. p. xxiii.

England; and was accordingly to be speedily expected.
† An overwhelming Desolation was to follow in a Moment.

And agreeably hereto, particular Times were set for the execution of the Menaces. *†* The 25th of *March* last was a Twelvemonth was pitched upon, that being a Month in which they in a very particular manner *† expected, fasted, and prayed for the Event of their Prophecies;* and were at no small Charge in providing places of Shelter for themselves, as I am well assured, and am persuaded they will not deny it. And though the prefix'd time succeeded not according to their expectation, they still encouraged themselves in a persuasion, that those Judgments *″ must* fall before the end of the Month. And so positive was one in the Case, that if you will take his own word for it, *″* he as really believed it, as he did in God.

At other times they express themselves in more general terms, yet so as that their Time appointed is long since past. Mr. L. speaking of *the denunciations expected to be fulfilled,* affirms, *× That if within six Months then to come (that is, from October 29. 1707.) the mighty Power of God should not attest they were from him, himself would before all the World acknowledge his Delusion.* Which time, in its utmost extent, expired *April 29. 1708.* a Year and some Months since. Sir R. B. enforces also the same Prediction, *″* by declaring, *That the Attestations of Almighty God from Heaven, which are to come within Mr. L's six Natural Months, are decisive, and consequently delivered by Inspiration:* And not only so, but confirmed likewise by Six or Seven other Persons under Inspiration; and that himself was commanded

† Obruens desolatio sequitur, sequitur Memento. part I. p. 60.

† Letter to Mr. M. p. 12. *Reflections on Sir R. B.* p. 40.

† Reflect. p. 40.

″ Reflect. p. 42.

″ Ibid.

× Preface to Warnings, part 3. p. 8.

″ Answer to several Treatises, p. 87, 92.

by one of the Inspired ² to tell the World, that open Miracles, publick Attestations from Heaven, shall be given this City before May next; that is, May 1708. or otherwise he would own the Lord had not spoken by this Voice: Nor will I suffer, as he proceeds, this People to halt in their Judgment longer than that, without severe strokes of my judicial Vengeance. This is all the time I allow to listen to the Voice of Argument; and for every one to consider, and determine himself about this Dispensation. Wo to those that will presumingly defer longer (this is to be understood and limited to this City) for after that time my Terrors shall fall upon it.

All which Predictions I have recited thus particularly, that it may appear how far they have come short of the expected Accomplishment. Here is astonishing Vengeance threatned, and the Time of it determined, once, a second, and a third time; and yet, blessed be God, nothing of what was threatned has followed upon it. These Menaces are as positive and terrible as if the Plague had been to break forth, and devour its Thousands and Ten Thousands in a Week, or the City was to be again in a general Conflagration; as if Earthquakes were to shake down our Houses, as they have oftentimes done those in *Smyrna*, *Jamaica*, and other Places; or Fire and Brimstone were to rain down from God out of Heaven, as formerly upon the sinful Cities of *Sodom* and *Gomorrhah*. But thanks be to our good and gracious God, though we have survived the utmost Period of the Space determined for our Overthrow, we have felt no considerable alteration; but things go on still much as they did before these Pretenders arose to make a Disturbance amongst us, and to delude the People by these dreadful Threatnings.

Not but that we have highly deserved all that

² *Ibid.*

they have been pleased thus to alarm with, and abundantly more by our repeated Abominations: Infomuch, that a Man might easily discover, without being a Prophet, that fore Judgments cannot but hang over our Heads. Yet it is not so easy to say at what time they shall certainly light upon us, or how long it may please God to withhold them from us. Only thus much is past doubt, that they have not hitherto befallen us, as these Pretenders foretold they should.

Nor can it possibly be urged that our Humiliation and Repentance have prevented them, as ^a the Repentance of the *Ninevites* did that heavy Destruction which had been threatned them by the Prophet *Jonah*. For alas! what sign of Repentance amongst us? To our Shame and Sorrow it must be confessed, that though we have been long a sinful Nation that have highly provoked the Almighty against our selves, yet never did more audacious Licentiousness appear amongst us, than for divers Years last past; wherein a gigantick Race of Fighters against Heaven have *hardned their Hearts* and *stiffned their Necks*, and set themselves to vilify whatever is sacred or serious, endeavouring to dethrone God Almighty, or at least to rob him of his Providence, to undermine his Church and Ministry, to explode his Sacraments and all the Institutions and Doctrines of revealed Religion, and to reduce us as far as in them lies, to that former State of Ignorance and Paganism; from which our Blessed Lord came from Heaven to redeem us. Others preach up Treason and Rebellion, Schism and Heresy. And amongst those of sounder Principles, and from whom therefore better things might have been expected, how few are there? How very few, whose Lives are in any degree answerable to their most holy Profession, and that are not too ready

^a *Jonah* 3. 10.

to break forth into all excess of Riot, and commit Wickedness with greediness?

*Ætas parentum pejor avis tulit
Nos nequiores.*

So that perhaps was at no time less appearance of a true and serious Repentance than has been, and yet is amongst our selves, notwithstanding all the Calls we have had to it.

And there is no reason therefore to imagine, that our Behaviour in this kind has any way prevailed with God to withdraw his Hand, when about to strike us. And since it hence appears that his Clemency and Forbearance towards us does not proceed from any Amendment of ours, it must be granted that he had never given it in Commission to any one, to declare that he was about to execute his Wrath upon us. So that here is another plain notorious Instance of the Failure of these Prophets Predictions, in a Case wherein they have been so very positive, and which they have taken occasion so often to inculcate.

VI. *E. Gray* was promised the Gift of Tongues, and accordingly it was to be expected that she should have been enabled to speak in all the Languages, that Mr. *L.* or Mr. *Dutton*, or any of the rest could pretend to. *Did not I promise thee Languages?* ^bsays their great Prophet Mr. *L.* plainly implying the Promise to have been so clear and undeniable, that it needed no proof. And yet amongst all her Tricks, what Language has she ever pretended to besides her own Native *English*? This is the Language she was bred up in, and all she could speak either before or since her pretended Inspiration, and this so plain a Promise made her by the Mouth of Mr. *L.*

Whereto may be added their Prediction some-

^b *Warnings*, part 2. p. 90.

time since, That ^c *the Tower-Guns should roar in a few Days, in less than a Week.* Which not answering expectation, was very fallaciously interpreted, after the Pattern of *John of Leyden* before-mentioned, to mean only ^d *Tormenta e turre Ætherea*, with which the City should be battered within *seven Nights*, but which, through the Divine Mercy, has not yet happen'd, though many *seven Nights* have come and gone. As that also about *Thoulon*; which not being taken, as was expected, Sir R. B. pleads that ^e *there was never in Inspiration any mention made of that City, but of the City THOULOUSE*; tho' upon what account any thing should be said of that does no way appear. Such also was their Prophecy concerning ^f *scourging of Paris and Lions*, which has not been observed to come to pass accordingly: And that other at *Nismes*, that ^g *those would be happy who should see the Year 1706; that the Deliverance of God's Church should come by the prevalence of the Camisars Prayers*, so that *their Enemies should bow down before them*; and the King hearing these things, should say, *let them alone in their Prayers.* Whereto may be added Mr. W—'s ^h Notice given, That *the great Stone-Bridge at Blenheim, built with so much cost, should shortly fall of it self*; and E. Gray's Promise to Mr. L. That ⁱ *that very Day he should make the Blind to see.* Not one title of all which Prophecies I can learn to have been any way fulfilled.

Here are now so many convincing Proofs of the Vanity and Falsity of these Mens Pretences to Prophecy, that it is exceedingly surprizing they should not have quitted all Thoughts of being inspired, upon the discovery of them. And they are so full and home to the Point, that I need say no more un-

^c P. 39. ^d P. 172. ^e *Answer to several Treatises*, p. 92.

^f *Warnings*, part 2. p. 40. ^g *Cry from the Desert*, p. 29.

^h *Reflections on Sir R. B.'s Answer to several Treatises*, p. 55.

ⁱ *Warnings*, part 2. p. 110.

der this Head, of the Events not answering their Predictions; which they have by no means done. And it can't, with any Truth or Honesty, be so much as pretended that they have.

IV. *The fourth and last Qualification of a true Prophet is, that he teach nothing unworthy of God, or inconsistent with, or disagreeing from the standing Revelation of the Gospel.* Almighty God, who is Truth it self, and of infinite Purity and Holiness, can never Commission any to encourage what is contrary to either of these Attributes. And with whatsoever shew of Devotion and Concern for his Glory and the Welfare of his Church and People, any may come, there is nothing more certain, than if either by their Doctrine or manner of Life, they set themselves to promote any apparent Falshood in Doctrine, or Immorality in Practice, they cannot be from God, nor act herein as his Ministers. It was given in charge to the Jews, in the Case of Idolatry, that whatever Signs a Prophet came with, and though his Predictions were ever so punctually fulfilled, yet if his Aim were to establish the Worship of a false God, they should upon no account hearken to him, but look upon him as a Deceiver that God had permitted to come amongst them for the trial of their Fidelity to himself: And they were to be so far from giving themselves up to his Directions, that they were, on the other hand, to put him to Death as an Impostor. *Deut. 13. 1, 2, 3, 4, 5. If there arise among you a Prophet, or a Dreamer of Dreams, and giveth thee a Sign or a Wonder; And the Sign or Wonder come to pass, whereof he spake unto thee, saying, Let us go after other Gods, (which thou hast not known) and let us serve them, Thou shalt not hearken to the words of that Prophet, or that Dreamer of Dreams; for the Lord your God proveth you, to know whether you love the Lord your God with all your Heart, and with all your Soul. Ye shall walk*

G g 2

after

after the Lord your God, and fear him, and keep his Commandments; and obey his Voice, and you shall serve him, and cleave unto him. And that Prophet, or that Dreamer of Dreams, ^k shall be put to Death (because he hath spoken to turn you away from the Lord your God, which brought you out of the Land of Egypt, and redeemed you out of the House of Bondage, to thrust thee out of the way, which the Lord thy God commanded thee to walk in) so shalt thou put the Evil away from the midst of thee. Thus the Almighty cautions them against the seduction of such as came with the appearance of his Prophets, that they should be continually upon their Guard against them, and never be drawn by them into Idolatry, even though they should undertake to confirm their Doctrine by miraculous Signs and Wonders; and these should happen to be made good according to their Prediction. Though they should undertake to demonstrate the Lawfulness of the Worship they invited to in a very extraordinary manner; and tho' withal the promised Event should succeed to their Expectation, ^l yet were they not to be attended to, but steadfastly rejected as no true Prophets, but Liars and Deceivers. And the reason is the same in other like cases. For though Idolatry be a Sin peculiarly offensive to Almighty God, and therefore to be so much the more carefully avoided, yet are we to beware of all other Sins likewise, and

^k Nec habebitur ratio muneris quod sibi vendicat, neq; requiretur ab ipso signum, immo etsi miracula ediderit, ad professionem istam confirmandam, quibus nihil unquam magis mirum audivimus, nihilominus strangulabitur, nulla miraculorum istorum habita ratione. *Maimon. in Seder Zeraim. Præfat. p. 4.*

^l Quando exsurget inter vos aliquis, qui gloriatur de Prophecia, & signa ejus videbitis, quibus persuadere vult veritatem inesse verbis ipsius; tum scitote, quod hac re velit Deus notam facere in Gentibus mensuram Fidei vestræ in veritate Legis suæ & Apprehensionis, quâ ipsum apprehenditis; quod item non sinatis vos seduci persuasionem seductoris, neq; eo medio Fides vestra in Deum pereat. *Maimon. Mor. Nev. part 3. c. 24.*

^m all false Doctrines whatsoever, as we would secure our own Salvation, and resolutely to shun all those who seek either by Word or Deed, to recommend them to us, it being most apparent that no true Prophet of the Lord can do this, otherwise than in flat contradiction to his Commission.

This Mr. L. himself confesses, and his Authority I promise my self will pass for currant, without any farther Proof. ⁿ Search, says he, if any thing has occurred, not only from my Servant, but from any that have spoken in this manner. Search and try if any thing contrary to sound Doctrine. God cannot deny himself. If any thing be contrary to the Scriptures, that that is contrary must be false; that which leads Men to any Impiety, any Vileness whatsoever: If you can charge any such tendency upon this, Proof enough it is, none of my Spirit that guides it. And again, ^p If this Voice carries in it nothing dissonant from the Scriptures; if it be attended with the Gifts and Graces of my Spirit; is not this a way of converting all Nations to one God? And again, ^q When immediate Revelation or Speaking, Praying, &c. by Inspiration is pretended to, it ought to undergo in all things the Scripture-Test: Whatever cannot bear an examination by that deserves to be condemned. If it speaks dishonourably of Christ in any of his Offices; if it contain and import any thing contrary to the Form of sound Doctrine, already received for Divine; if it leads evidently to ill

^m Docti viri, & qui propter Scientiæ gratiam ab Apostolo etiam Prophetæ nuncupantur, proferre interdum permittuntur nova dogmata, quæ vetus Testamentum allegorico Sermone Deos alienos appellare consuevit; eo quod scilicet ita ab hæreticis ipsorum opiniones, sicut a Gentilibus Dii sui observentur. Vincent. Lyr. Common. c. 15.

ⁿ Warnings. part 2. Preface, p. vii.

^o Φαύλω δ' ἔδémis ἐρμῶει χυέας τῷ Θεῷ, ὥς κύειας μοχθηρὸς ἐδείς ἐνθεσιᾷ, μόνω δ' ἱσοῦ ταῦτ' ἐφαρμότῃ. ἐπεὶ καὶ μόνω ἔρσανον Θεῷ ἔστιν ἡχῶν, κερκόμυον καὶ πλητῶμυον ἀοράτως ὡς αὐτῷ. Phil. Jud. Quis rev. divin. Hær. fit. p. 404.

^p Part 3. p. 108.

^q Relation of God's Dealings. p. 5.

Life, and be productive of it in the Pretenders; if it thrust Men out of the way which the Lord our God has commanded us to walk in, then it deserves an Anathema.

Now if our present Pretenders be brought to the Test of this Rule, we shall find farther Evidence against them; and they must needs be cast, whether tried by what passed in the *Cevennes*, or here at Home.

1. In the *Cevennes*. Their own Writings bear witness against them, as whose both Doctrine and Behaviour must needs be displeasing to Almighty God, and so would argue them to be no Prophets of his sending.

1. For what Scripture allows of Breach of Faith; that when a Man has solemnly stipulated not to do a thing, he should yet resolve to do it; in defiance to his Stipulation? This is such perfidious Insincerity, that none who has a Grain of Honesty but must abhor the thoughts of it. And the Scriptures which require ^r to be true and just in all our Dealings, ^r *And not to forswear our selves, but to perform to the Lord our Oaths; and* ^r *putting away lying to speak every Man truth to his Neighbour*, are by no means reconcileable to any Attempts of this Nature. Yet this Pattern did *Elias Marion* set in the *Cevennes*, when ^u having capitulated with the King's Forces, and thereby incapacitated himself to bear Arms any more against them; and having been conducted, in this Confidence, and upon the Assurance he had given, *safe to Geneva*; yet after he had been there some time, upon another ^w Overture made to himself and some others, for *returning to the Aid of their Brethren still in Arms*; not only returned accordingly, but moreover freely acknow-

^r St. Mark 10. 19. 2 Cor. 7. 2. 1 Thess. 4. 6.

^r Levit. 19. 12. St. Matth. 5. 33.

^r Ephes. 4. 25.

^u Cry from the Desert. p. 84.

^w P. 95.

ledged his *CAPITULATION WAS NO HINDRANCE*, because it was a forced Treaty, (as all Capitulations for furrendry upon Conquest of any kind certainly are, though held however to be obliging) and because ^x the Articles thereof were not duly observed and fulfilled by the King's Forces, (tho' he does not assign any one Violation of them) and because he was determined to that Design by an Inspiration, which he blasphemously says was from above, (but which could not possibly be so, since God Almighty never inspires any with a Direction to break their Trust, or commit any other Wickedness:) For these Reasons he resolved to cut the Knot, and force his way through all the Obligations he had laid upon himself: Which no true Prophet ever did; but they would all have chosen to undergo a thousand Deaths rather than do it. And which, if Scripture, which forbids ^y to do Evil, though in order to ever so great a Good, Reason, which ^z requires Fidelity in all our Dealings with each other, and particularly in Oaths and Covenants, or Mr. Lacy who was no less inspired than this E. M. may be judge, could not proceed from God's Spirit, whereby no such Violator of his Faith was ever acted.

2. Nor was their taking Arms against their lawful Sovereign, and encouraging others to do the like, any more agreeable to Scripture than this Violation of Faith. That they were long engaged in Arms against their Prince's Forces that came to disperse them, was not only related from time to time

^x See the Case of Joshua and the Gibeonites, Josh. 9. 3, &c.

^y Rom. 3. 8.

^z Cic. de Offic. de Fin. l. 1. & l. 3. De Legib. l. 1. & Somn. Scip. Arrian. Epist. l. 1. c. 2. Plat. de Rep. l. 4. Apolog. Socrat. n. 14. Diog. Laert. in vit. Chil. Laced. Aristot. ad Nichom. l. 5. c. 1. Porphy. de Absten. l. 3. §. ult. Max. Tyr. Dissert. 2. p. 21. Valer. Max. l. 1. c. 15. l. 7. c. 733. A. Gell. l. 7. c. 18. & L. Flor. l. 2. c. 2.

in our publick Accounts of the Transactions of those Parts, and by Travellers who came that way, but themselves glory in it as a *following the Dictates of the Holy Spirit*, telling how *those under Inspirations gave frequent Directions for their Conduct in the Affairs of the War*; and even their Women fought for them, *singing Psalms, and throwing Stones*; reckoning themselves to fight herein the *Fight of Faith, and abett the Cause of God*; terming themselves a little **MILITARY CHURCH**, who forsook their Parents and Relations, and whatever was dearest to them in the World, to follow Jesus Christ, and to make War against the Devil and his Followers, &c. In which Account of their own Proceedings they seem to have forgot

1. That Christianity is a known Doctrine of the Cross, and requires Patience and Submission to our Superiours; and *not only to the good and gentle, but also to the froward and perverse*. And though it prescribes Flight in case of Persecution, yet never taking up Arms against those in Authority, how unjust and cruel soever they may be. Nor would our Blessed Lord suffer St. Peter to use his Sword against the Officers that came from the Chief Priests and Elders of the People, though in Defence of the Saviour of the World. Which must have been a justifiable Cause of Resistance to Authority, if any ever was, or could be so.

2. That the Scripture requires ^a *to be subject to Principalities and Powers, and to obey Magistrates*, indefinitely and without restriction to those who govern according to the Rules of Justice, ^b *to submit to every Ordinance of Man*; and not only upon our own account, and whilst we find our selves kindly used and faithfully protected in all our Rights, but *for the Lord's sake*, and out of a sense of Duty to him, which is never so effectually ex-

^a Tit. 3. 1.

^b 1 Pet. 2. 13, 14.

pressed as when we are called to suffer for his Name, and choose rather to do it than transgress his Laws, how powerful soever the Temptation to it be; to be thus ^c *subject for Conscience sake*, out of a regard to our holy Profession, and the Obligations thereby laid upon us, and not only so long as our temporal Interest invites us to it.

3. That on the other hand *Damnation* is threatened in Scripture to Resistance. ^d *Let every Soul*, says St. Paul, *be subject to the higher Powers, for there are no Powers but of God; the Powers that be, even such wicked Governors as Claudius or Nero, under one of which this Epistle was certainly written, are ordained of God. Whosoever therefore resisteth the Power resisteth the Ordinance of God, and they that resist SHALL RECEIVE TO THEMSELVES DAMNATION.* This Submission our Blessed Saviour remarkably recommended by his own Example, who not only would not rescue himself out of the Magistrates Hands, when he could have commanded ^e *more than twelve Legions of Angels* for his Assistance: But when standing before his unjust Judge *Pontius Pilate*, acknowledged the Power he exercised against himself to be ^f *given him from above.* And in the same manner did ^h the Primitive Christians behave themselves, being continually ready to pay all lawful Allegiance to their Sovereigns ⁱ as far as honestly and innocently they might,

^c Rom. 13. 5.

^d Rom. 13. 1, 2.

^e Ut nemo putet quasi humana commenta contemnenda. Vident enim jus divinum humanis Authoritatibus deputatum. B. Ambros. in loc. ^f St. Mat. 26. 53. ^g St. John 19. 11.

^h See Dr. Hickes's *Jovian*. ch. 9. p. 186, &c.

ⁱ Δεδιδάσμεθα τὸ ἀρχαῖς καὶ ἡγεσίαις καὶ τοῖς Θεοῦ τεταγμένοις τιμῶν καὶ τὸ προσήκον, καὶ μὴ βλάβη εἶναι ἡμᾶς, ὑπομένειν. S. Polycarp. Martyr. n. 10. The same words are repeated by Eusebius, Hist. Eccl. l. 4. c. 15. and are thus rendered by Christopher-son, exactly according to the meaning of Polycarp, as whosoever pleases to consult the Church of Smyrna's Epistle may plainly see, Magistra-

might, and without hurting their Souls, and endangering their eternal Salvation; declaring the Emperor ^k to be of God's Appointment, whose Law requires to *fear God and the King, and disobey neither of them*, ^l praying for himself and his Empire, and ^m never entering into any Conspiracy against him. Their only Weapons were ⁿ *Prayers and Tears*; and it was ^o *by Faith and Patience*, ^p not by resisting their Lawful, though Tyrannical Superiors, that they *inherited the Promises* of a better Life. Nor was this Passive Temper of theirs to be resolved into a want of Power. ^q *Quia deerant vires*, as Cardinal Bellarmin affirms, *Because they had no other way to help themselves*, as the ^r Author of *Julian the Apostate*, and Mr. ^s *Hoadly* much to the same purpose. For *Tertullian* testifies for the Christians of his Time, that ^t *they had filled all Places, Cities, Isles, Castles, Burroughs, Councils, Tents, Tribes, Decuries, the Palace, the Senate, the Forum, leaving nothing without them but the Temples*, where they durst

Magistratibus enim & Potestatibus a Deo constitutis eum honorem, qui nostrorum animorum salutis, nostræq; Religioni nihil afferat detrimenti, pro dignitate tribuere docemur. *To the same purpose speaks also Tertullian and St. Basil.* Quod attinet ad honores Regum vel Imperatorum, satis præscriptum habemus in omni obsequio nos esse oportere, secundum Apostoli præceptum, subditos Magistratibus & Principibus, & Potestatibus; sed intra limites disciplinæ, quousq; ab Idololatria seperamur. *Tert. de Idololatr. c. 15.* "Οἱ δὲ ἑξουσίαις ὑποχέσασθαι ὑποτάσσασθαι, ἐν οἷς ἀν' ἐντολὴ Θεοῦ μὴ ἐμποδίσῃ. *St. Basil in Moralibus. Reg. 79.*

^k Just. Mart. Apol. 2. Theoph. Antioch. ad Autol. l. 1. Tertul. Apol. c. 33.

^l Athenag. Legat. p. 39, 40. Theoph. Antioch. *ubi supra.* Tertul. Apol. c. 30, 31, 39. B. August in Psalm. 118. Serm. 31.

^m Orig. c. Cels. l. 3. p. 115. Tertull. ad Scap.

ⁿ Greg. Nazianz. Stel. 1. p. 57. Edit. Steph. B. Ambros. de Basilicis non tradend. c. Auxent. To. 5. Conc. 1. pro var. act.

^o Heb. 6. 12.

^p B. Cypr. Epist. 60.

^q De Rom. Pontif. l. 5. c. 7.

^r C. 9. p. 94.

^s *Measures of Submission.* p. 140.

^t Apologet. c. 37.

not come, least they should be defiled by the Worship practised there. And their Numbers were so great, that they must *needs have been fit for any War, had not their Religion taught them* patiently to bear all Insults and Outrages, and *rather to be killed than kill*. Can it be imagined he would have affirmed this, if not notoriously evident? since the Truth of it must needs be known to those to whom this Apology was directed; whether they were ^u the Priests, or ^w the Senate, or rather the Proconsul and other Governors in *Africk*, who instead of hearkning to his Address, and being prevail'd upon by it, must have been highly incensed against him, had he come with an apparent falsity in his Mouth.

After him St. Cyprian professes to *Demetrian*, ^x either Proconsul of *Africk*, or at least some inferior Judge or Councillor, but most certainly a busy Minister there, *That when they were taken into Custody they made no Resistance, nor attempted to revenge themselves against the unjust Violence of their Rulers, y notwithstanding that they knew themselves to be so strong and numerous a People*; hereby intimating them to have been in a Condition of making head against the Government, had they thought themselves at liberty to attempt it. As must be allowed, unless we conceive him to have talked after a loose inconsiderate manner.

In those early Ages of the Church its Members had too great a Sense of the Obligations they were under to Patience and Submission, though when ill treated and under Persecution, to think of righting themselves by such means, as they well knew

^a Pamel. in loc.

^w Du Pin Nouv. Bibl. To. I. p. 91. D. Caves Hist. Liter. Vol. I. p. 58.

^x Annot. Oxon. p. 185.

^y Quamvis nimius & copiosus noster sit populus. Ad Demeter. p. 192.

their Lord had forbidden to his Disciples. Which these Pretenders seem either not to have known, or else to have quite forgotten it, inasmuch as otherwise they could not have acted in such apparent contradiction to it. As they have likewise forgot

4. That the Scripture teaches, in all our Streights and Difficulties, to apply our selves to God, and rely upon his good Providence for Relief, and never to attempt our own Deliverance in any unwarrantable Course. All Sin and Wickedness is so constantly forbidden under the severest Penalties, and is in it self so directly opposite to our most holy Religion, that there is no venturing upon it under whatsoever Temptation: And no good Christian therefore but would choose a thousand times rather to be in God's than in his own keeping, and would flee to him for Succour and Assistance in all his Dangers and Necessities, and depend on him for Deliverance, without seeking to any unlawful means for a Redress. This would shew a great Sense of God's good Providence over his Creatures, and our selves in particular; and is so necessarily incumbent upon all, that there is no hope of approving our selves to him without it. ² *Call upon me, says God, in the Day of Trouble, I will deliver thee, and thou shalt glorify me.* ^a *And cast thy Burden upon the Lord, says the Psalmist, he shall sustain thee, he shall never suffer the Righteous to be moved.*

And in the New Testament we are required ^b *to be careful for nothing, but in every thing by Prayers and Supplications, with Thanksgivings, to let our Requests be made known unto God:* ^c *Not to cast away our Confidence in him; which, saith the Apostle, hath great Recompence of Reward.* And again, ^d *To cast all our care upon him, because he careth for us,*

² *Psal. 50. 15.*

^c *Hebr. 10. 35.*

^a *Psal. 55. 22.*

^d *I Pet. 5. 7.*

^b *Phil. 4. 6.*

and will be sure to provide Deliverance, or whatever else we stand in need of, much better than we could for our selves. In a word, Nothing is more plainly taught in Scripture, than a dependance upon God in all our Difficulties; nor is there any way like it for promoting our own both Temporal and Eternal Interest.

And particularly as to the Introduction of such a new State of the Church, as these Pretenders profess themselves sent to give notice of; such a mighty Change can never be brought about so effectually as by a quiet Submission of those that expect it, and an entire Resignation of themselves and all their Concerns to the divine disposal; together with a steady Preparation of Mind to seal their Doctrine, if called to it, with their Blood, as the ancient Martyrs did. And all unlawful Attempts in order to our own Safety, are but so many unworthy Reflections upon God, as if he would not make good his Promises to those that faithfully rely upon him. *Wilt thou speak wickedly for God, and talk deceitfully for him?* He needs not our Lie, or Treachery, or any other Sin, to bring his Designs about; but will of himself raise up such Instruments, and make use of such Methods for the accomplishing his Ends, as shall not fail to answer them infinitely better than all the vain Contrivances and Attempts of sinful Men. And for any therefore to think of promoting his Glory, and recommending themselves to him by the use of such Means as he disallows of, is but to frustrate their own Undertakings, and provoke him against their own Souls. And accordingly these Pseudo-prophets may assure themselves, that all their Endeavours to settle their *Dispensation* by the Power of the Sword, and especially when drawn against their lawful Superiors, are so many Attempts against

themselves, and are no good sign of their being under a Divine Influence or Direction, or like to succeed in what they have undertaken ; as has been excellently shewn many Years since by a truly, sincere, devout and pious Christian, as well as a serious and judicious ^f Author, then a worthy Member and Ornament of our Church, who writing upon the Subject of these Mens Prophecy, *The future Glorious State of the Church*, when the Jews shall return into their own Land, *the Heathen Nations shall be converted, the Church's Sufferings in the Cause of Christianity shall cease, and those National Governments that are opposite to Christ's Kingdom and Government shall be dissolved* ; yet earnestly cautions People to beware of seeming to promote this great Design by Force and Arms, as being what Almighty God will not be pleased with. For thus he argues.

“ If the Deliverance of the Church at last, by
 “ destroying her Enemies, will proceed more from
 “ what Christ their King and General will him-
 “ self do therein by extraordinary acts of his Pow-
 “ er, as the Scriptures before insisted on seem to
 “ intimate to us that it will: Then this may dis-
 “ swade all Christians from using any undue Means
 “ for the introducing Christ's Kingly Government
 “ into the World, or for the setting him upon his
 “ Throne. For it is not likely to be done by their
 “ Might and Strength, but so as that it shall be
 “ truly said, that *he hath done marvellous Things* ;
 “ *and that his right Hand and his holy Arm have*
 “ *gotten himself the Victory*, Psal. 98. 1. He stands
 “ in no need of any unrighteous or irregular help
 “ from Men, to give him Possession of his King-
 “ dom in the World. He who hath given Laws
 “ to his Subjects to direct and govern them in all
 “ their Actions, will never take it well from any

^f Mr. William Allen.

^g *Of the State of the Church in Future Ages.* c. 5. p. 154, &c.
 “ of

“ of them, if they shall break any of his Laws in
 “ Zeal for him, or to advance his Kingdom in the
 “ World, as we know some have done, by beta-
 “ king themselves to Arms upon an Enthusiastical
 “ impulse, without any colour of Call from their
 “ Superiours; to the disturbance of the Publick
 “ Peace, and in Affront to the Government under
 “ which the Providence of God had placed them.
 “ All Actions of any thing a-like nature, are no
 “ honour to Christ or his Religion; nor do they
 “ tend to further or advance his Interest in the
 “ World, but greatly to hinder it, and make him
 “ the more Enemies in the World for their sakes.
 “ And it is so far unlikely that ever he should in
 “ his Providence, do any thing extraordinary for
 “ the success of the irregular Undertakings of any
 “ who shall therein pretend a Zeal for him, as that
 “ it may rather be expected that he should do
 “ something extraordinary first or last, to let the
 “ World know that he disowns such Persons in
 “ such their Proceedings.

“ The Scripture saith, *He that believeth doth not*
 “ *make haste*, Isa. 28. 16. He doth not use any in-
 “ direct Means to *hasten* that which God hath pro-
 “ mised, as being impatient of his delay to fulfil
 “ and perform it. And therefore all irregular
 “ practices of Men to hasten the setting up of
 “ Christ's Kingdom in the World, are an Argu-
 “ ment rather of their diffidence and distrust in
 “ Christ, as King of his Church: either of his
 “ Power, as if he could not set up his Kingdom
 “ and Government, without such human Help as
 “ they deem necessary to that end: Or of his Wis-
 “ dom, as not regarding the best Time and fittest
 “ Season to do it in: Or of his Care of his Church,
 “ in not hastning more to her Relief and Delive-
 “ rance from all her powerful Enemies.

“ When Men will take Christ's own Work out
 “ of his Hands, and lead the Way, and go before
 “ him

“ him in it, as if they expected that he should se-
 “ cond them and assist them in it; it is never like to
 “ prosper in theirs who so usurp that Authority :
 “ For if he himself does not assist them in it, as
 “ they have little reason to expect that he should,
 “ they will quickly find the Undertaking too great
 “ for all their Power and Skill to go through with
 “ it. And when they find themselves intangled
 “ with insuperable Difficulties, and to sink under
 “ the Weight and Burden of them, its very likely
 “ they will thereupon entertain hard and unbe-
 “ coming Thoughts of Christ himself, as if he had
 “ deserted his own Cause in their Hands, in leaving
 “ them to themselves in their rash Undertaking.
 “ And its well if they do not thereupon bring
 “ themselves under a strong Temptation, either to
 “ Disobedience, or to question whether those
 “ grounds upon which judicious and sober Chri-
 “ stians expect the Churches great Deliverance
 “ from the hands of her Enemies, be true or no.
 “ Nay, its well if they do not thereby bring them-
 “ selves to question the truth of the other great
 “ Doctrines of Christianity, and slip into Athe-
 “ ism, as it’s certain some have done upon occasion
 “ of the Miscarriage of such rash Undertakings as
 “ that we are now speaking is of.
 “ Let none then out of a hasty and mistaken
 “ Zeal, and under pretence of ushering the King-
 “ dom and Government of Christ into the World,
 “ attempt any thing in order thereto, that tends to
 “ disturb the publick Peace, or the subverting of
 “ that Government by which the publick Peace is
 “ upheld and maintain’d in the World. Almighty
 “ God who hath the Hearts and Lives of Princes,
 “ Rulers and Governours in his Hands, can easily
 “ make what alteration in Governments and Go-
 “ vernours he pleaseth, in the Nations of the
 “ World, when he thinks fit to have it done.
 “ And it is a Work too big for Men of any
 “ Modesty

“ Modesty to undertake that are under Govern-
 “ ment themselves.

“ Do but observe in all the great alterations
 “ which God hath made in States and Kingdoms
 “ for the Ease and for the Deliverance of his Peo-
 “ ple from time to time, and see whether they have
 “ been made by the Policy or Plottings of his Peo-
 “ ple under the Government of those that oppres-
 “ sed them, or by the working Providence of God
 “ without them. There were six hundred thou-
 “ sand Men of *Israel* in Bondage in *Egypt* before
 “ they were brought out of it, *Exod.* 12. 37. and
 “ yet they were never persuaded by *Moses*, though
 “ he had been among them Forty Years before they
 “ were delivered, to attempt their own Delive-
 “ rance, till they could obtain leave from *Pharaoh*
 “ their King to quit their Station. When they
 “ were in Captivity in *Babylon*, did any of them
 “ attempt their Deliverance till God stirr’d up
 “ the Heart of *Cyrus* to give them leave to return
 “ to their Land? *Ezra* 1. 1. And until then, God
 “ Almighty would have them seek the Peace of the
 “ Place where his Providence had brought them,
 “ and to pray for it, *Jer.* 29. 7. And the Primi-
 “ tive Christians, though under the Government
 “ of cruel persecuting Pagan Emperors, yet never
 “ attempted their Deliverance by any secret Plots,
 “ or publick Disturbance, though so numerous as
 “ that they fill’d all Places as their Apologists have
 “ observ’d, but patiently waited till God himself
 “ should bring about their Deliverance, as he did
 “ by turning the Heart of *Constantine*, one of their
 “ Emperors, to the Christian Faith. But in the
 “ mean time he declared that his Mind and Will
 “ was, that they should be subject to the Imperial
 “ Power set over them by God’s Providence; and
 “ that not only for *Wrath*, or fear of Punishment, but
 “ for *Conscience* sake, and in obedience to God,
 “ who requir’d every Soul of them to be subject to

“ *those higher powers, and to submit themselves to*
 “ *every ordinance of man for the Lord's sake, that*
 “ *were not contrary to any command or appoint-*
 “ *ment of his, Rom. 13. 1 Pet. 2.*

“ Which, by the way, discovers their Principle
 “ to be corrupt and rotten, who think themselves
 “ disobliged from obedience and subjection to any
 “ of those Kings whom they esteem to be any of
 “ the Ten horns of the Beast St. *John* speaks of,
 “ *Rev. 13.* For the Government of the Empire
 “ under which the Primitive Christians lived, was
 “ in the Nature and Constitution of it, in refe-
 “ rence to Religion, the *Pagan Beast*, with seven
 “ heads, and ten horns, which St. *John* spake of,
 “ *Rev. 12.* and yet we see, they were to be sub-
 “ ject and obedient to these Rulers, both supreme
 “ and subordinate, and that out of Conscience to
 “ God, in all their lawful Ordinances or Com-
 “ mands.

“ But, as I was saying, the greatest Deliveran-
 “ ces which the Church has received from time to
 “ time, have been brought about, not by their own
 “ contrivance, or by any successful attempts of
 “ their power or policy, but by God's own speci-
 “ al work. And when we consider that the deli-
 “ verance which the Church shall receive at the
 “ time of that great turn of Affairs, when *Christ*
 “ shall be actually putting down all rule, autho-
 “ rity and power contrary to his, that his name
 “ alone may be exalted in all the earth, it is like-
 “ ly to be the greatest, and of greatest concern for
 “ the good of the world, of any she ever yet re-
 “ ceived, next to the eternal Redemption by *Christ*:
 “ and when we consider what we are put in ex-
 “ pectation of by the Prophecies recited in this
 “ Chapter: I say, when we consider these things,
 “ we have great reason to think, that that deli-
 “ verance will be so managed by the Providence
 “ of

“ of God, that all the world may say it was of his
 “ doing, and that his hand brought it to pass, and
 “ that it was no natural or proper effect of hu-
 “ mane power and wisdom. Which if so, then the
 “ people of God need not out of fear or distrust of
 “ being over-powered by their enemies, use any
 “ other means or methods of proceeding against
 “ them, or to increase their own strength, than
 “ what are every way fair, unquestionable, and
 “ unexceptionable.

“ And as the time of this great action draws
 “ nearer and nearer, so the Providence of God no
 “ doubt will make the way clear and plain before
 “ the Church, so that she shall be in no doubt
 “ what is fit for her to do in order to her own de-
 “ fence. Almighty God, who has the hearts of
 “ Kings in his hand, as rivers of water, to turn
 “ the stream of their Counsels and Resolutions,
 “ which way he pleaseth, will turn the minds of
 “ those, or some of those Kings, who formerly had
 “ *given their kingdom, power and strength unto the*
 “ *Beast*, so that they shall *hate the whore*, set
 “ against her, and destroy her, *Rev. 17. 16, 17.*
 “ And when those of the Church shall be under
 “ the conduct of lawful authority in that case, they
 “ can be under no doubtfulness of mind what to
 “ do. And Almighty God seems to have menti-
 “ oned this in his word, on purpose to direct the
 “ generality of Orthodox Christians, under the
 “ degree of Kings, how and when to act in a ho-
 “ stile manner against the Churches enemies, and
 “ to prevent all rash and disorderly attempts of
 “ men in a hostile way, out of a pretence of zeal
 “ against Romish Superstitions, and the supporters
 “ of them.

Thus this devout and truly good Man; as if he
 had proleptically written against these very Pre-
 tenders. And forasmuch as they have taken a quite

contrary method, have endeavoured to preserve themselves from Sufferings, and to propagate their Dreams by taking the Sword against their lawful Sovereign, and his Agents, and consequently by such Resistance, whereto *Damnation* is annexed in Scripture, their Prophecies must needs be vain and groundless, it being impossible, by Mr. L—y's own Confession, as I observ'd before, ^h that what was thus contrary to the constant Doctrine of the Scriptures, could proceed from the good Spirit of God; nor was a Blessing to be expected upon it.

3. A Third Instance of their Misbehaviour in the *Cevennes*, is the cruel Destruction they made there, not sparing the very Houses of God, which if for the present misemployed in an undue Worship, yet it was to be hoped, the All-wise God may see a time, when they might have been made use of to better purpose. This was a method of proceeding, which if they thought to be highly culpable in such as persecuted them, they could not possibly pretend to excuse in themselves. I need not tell them that none of the Prophets of God have ever thought themselves at liberty to take this destructive Course, and that they must have obstructed their own Designs, and probably have ruined themselves, and defeated their Messages, at least must have certainly offended Almighty God, if they had.

And that these should have begun thus of late, has a very ill Aspect, and casts a great Blot upon them, and calls loudly to others to keep off, and not come near them. That they have done this I had not known, but from their own Testimony; but having such irrefragable Evidence against them, I cannot question whether they are guilty or not. *Claude Arnassan*, of *Montel* near *Alex*, one of their company, relates, that ⁱ they had burnt the Village

^h P. 449.

ⁱ Cry from the Desert, p. 27.

of *BELVIZT*; which was no good Token of a peaceable, patient, compassionate, truly Christian Temper of Mind, nor reconcileable to the Love, and hearty Concern, the Professors of our Religion are, in an especial manner, obliged to have for each other. But as if this were not enough, we are told farther, ^k that *the Soldiers* [of their Party] *reduced to Askes the Temples of Idolatry*. They would rather execute their Rage upon the Churches, which they call *the Temples of Idolatry*, because abused with a corrupt and idolatrous Worship, than wait like good Christians, and faithful Servants of God, till it might please him to restore them to a better use. Nor was this all:

4. There was another grievous Instance in the *Cevennes*, of their departure from the Rule of God's Word, and that was their taking upon them to administer the Holy Sacrament of the Lord's-Supper, without any admission to the Priesthood to qualifie them for it. Which the Apostle to the *Hebrews* teaches ^l to be *an honour that no man taketh*, that is lawfully and warrantably, *to himself, but he that is called of God, as was Aaron*. Our Blessed Saviour, the Son of God most high, and Lord of Glory, assumed not this Office, till called to it by the Father, as the same Apostle assures us, ^m *So also Christ glorified not himself to be made an High-Priest; but he that said unto him, Thou art my Son, to day have I begotten thee*. As he saith also in another place, *Thou art a Priest for ever, after the order of Melchizedeck*. Yet these Men could satisfie themselves in usurping the Sacerdotal Office, and acting as Priests, without any Commission, but what their own licentious Enthusiasm conferred upon them. So themselves acknowledge, ⁿ *Our*

^k P. 96. ^l Heb. 5. 4. ^m Ver. 5, 6.

ⁿ Cry from the Desert, p. 66, 67.

Leader Cavalier received order by his own Inspirations, and by those of many others, to administer the Lord's-Supper. And again, ° Brother La Valette, who had the Gift of Preaching, received an order by Inspiration, to administer the Holy Supper; accordingly he and I [El. Marion] went aside from the Troop, and called a Congregation for the first Lord's Day of the Month. But presently Valette began to repent of his Presumption, and was afraid to execute what he had thus hastily undertaken, P till the said Marion encouraged him, by the pretence of another Inspiration, vouchsafed to himself to that purpose. After which second Warning, we applied our selves, says Marion, to execute the said Appointment. But then he adds against themselves, As neither of us had ever seen the Solemnity performed, we advised with the most ancient of our Troop, who also supplied the Office of Elders, in our little military Church; Brother La Valette, in the quality of a Minister extraordinary authorised, presented the Bread and Wine to the People, and I presented the Cup to him. Where are Four Particulars confessed, all of them well deserving our serious Observation.

1. They had never seen that Solemnity performed before, had never in their whole Lives so much as once been Partakers of this sacred Ordinance. And is it to be imagin'd that our Blessed Lord would chuse of such for the Publishers of his new Dispensation, who had lived all their Life long in an open and stupid Neglect of such a principal Part of Christianity? Is it likely that those, who in the present State of the Church, had never once prepared themselves for a solemn Commemoration of his infinite Love in dying for us, in obedience to his own Institution, should be the Persons pitch'd

upon by him, for the great Instruments of ushering in another, and more glorious Dispensation?

2. *They advised with the most ancient of their Troops*; they were forced to beg the Direction of others, as to the Form of this Ordinance. As if the Spirit of God, if it had appointed them to this Office would not also have instructed them in the right manner of performing it. That he could is most certain; that he would is morally so; and yet that he did not, is apparent from this Account of themselves, and their Proceeding, and is an undoubted Evidence, that whatsoever Direction was alleged for this pretended Sacrament, came not from him.

3. *Their advising with the most ancient of their Troop* in an Affair of this Nature, seems to imply the generality of them, that is the younger Sort, to have been as little acquainted with this Sacrament as themselves, and consequently that they were not like to be immediately employ'd in carrying on so important a Charge, as they profess themselves to come about.

4. They proceeded to the Administration, without any other Authority for it, than their own imaginary Call, which they fancied, or at least pretended themselves to have immediately received, and so undoubtedly without any sufficient Call to it.

^a *And from that very time, says Marion, we continued to give the Holy Supper of the Lord in the Assemblies two successive Lord's Days every Quarter*; thus boldly imitating the Presumption of Korah and his Company, for which they paid so dear by a terrible and speedy Destruction, ^r the Earth being made, by a particular Providence of God, to open its Mouth, and swallow them up.

Thus the *Cevennois* behaved themselves.

^a *Ibid.*

^r *Numb.* 16. 31, 32, 33.

2. And if we proceed to enquire concerning those here, we shall find their Deportment not more agreeable to the Doctrines of the Gospel. As amongst others may appear in these few Instances.

1. Their decrying ^f humane Learning, and the Places erected in order to its Promotion and Improvement, and resolving all true and saving Knowledge into their own fancied Inspirations. *Learning!* ^f *Learning*, says Mr. L. *that confounds the true Knowledge of me. Multitude of Reading, to make Men stupid.* ^u *The Inspiration of the Almighty gives better Understanding than all Academies.* ^w *What will the Doctors of Science, Men of Letters, without the Spirit; they are ashamed of it; ay, what will they say?* As if we were to leave off all proper humane Means of Learning, out of a groundless hope of being supernaturally taught much better. Which is just as reasonable, as if Mr. L. should resolve never to eat more, unless God will be pleased to rain down *Manna* from Heaven for his Food, as he did of old ^x for the *Israelites*; or to feed him by the ministry of *Ravens* bringing him Bread and Flesh Morning and Evening, ^y as he for some time did the Prophet *Elijah*. There is no question but God can infuse whatsoever Measures of Knowledge he pleases into any of his faithful Servants, according to that of the *Psalmist*, ^z *I understand more than the Ancients, because I keep thy precepts.* Yet this hindred not, but that the

^f Herein transcribing the Copy of the Quakers, who interpreted that Text, Gal. 3. 13. Cursed is every one that hangeth on a Tree, to mean on the Tree of Knowledge. Defence of the Snake in the Grass, p. 33.

^f Warnings, Part 1. p. 29.

^u P. 12.

^w Part 2. p. 67.

^x Exod. 16. 14, 15.

^y 1 Kings 17. 6.

^z Ps. 119. 100.

Jews had their ^a Schools of the Prophets, wherein to prepare them for the Illapses of the Divine Spirit, in several of their Cities, or other places, as they had occasion for them. And if we have our Schools and Academies now for another use, namely, that by a diligent Study and Improvement of our selves, we may hope, by God's Blessing, to attain to such an insight into the Holy Scriptures, and other useful sorts of Knowledge, as may capacitate us to save our selves, and be helpful to others, is not this incomparably better than to give up our selves to the conduct of our own Fancies, and imaginary Inspirations, and so become liable to as many Absurdities and Delusions, as these Pretenders have fallen into?

2. Their unsettling the Foundations of all Civil Authority, which the Scripture has so strongly and so firmly settled, and whereto Obedience is required under the severest Penalty. Whosoever has read those Sacred Writings, might well be allowed to conclude, the Power of the Magistrate to be fixed upon a lasting Basis, since Almighty God there declares it to be derived from himself, and establish'd with the most important Sanction that can be. And yet Mr. L. takes upon him to set this all aside, as of no validity under his *New Dispensation*, and which can be of no Authority, unless renewed and enforced in another manner. ^b *Ye Principalities and Powers, take a new Title, for your*

^a 2 Kings 2. 3, 5. We read of the Sons of the Prophets that were at Bethel, and at Jericho, and at Gilgal. And Chap. 22. 14. mention is made of a College in Jerusalem, where Huldah the Prophetess lived, which in Jonathan's Targum is rendered ביתא ללמוד the House of Learning. Erat enim Academia prophetarum literis operam dantium, ut Rabbi Levi Gersonis Filius loquitur. Alting. de Hebr. rep. Eccl. p. 24. See also p. 25, &c. and Smith's *Select Discourses*, p. 249, 250.

^b *Warnings*, Part 3. p. 29.

Commission is void. Ye Rulers of the Disobedient, I deliver you your Captives; I give them up. Where he not only seeks to divest all Governors of their just Authority, but, if I understand him aright, (and his Words are so plain, I think, they cannot well be mistaken) he gives them all up to the Devil and his Angels, as *their Captives*. And Mr. Nicholson, sometime one of their Society, testifies, *c* that he has heard Mr. Lacy, in his common Discourse, ridicule those Words in our Church-Catechism, wherein Children are taught to submit themselves to all their Governors, Teachers, Spiritual Pastors and Masters. As if it were a Crime to obey Governors in Church or State, or private Families; in direct opposition to the Fifth Commandment, and other parts of Scripture.

3. Their undermining the Authority of the Scriptures. I do not say they condemn the Reading of the Scriptures, or any way dissuade from a serious Study of them; it is enough for my present purpose, and a great deal too much for them to answer, if at any time they suggest such sly Insinuations, as imply the Scripture to be no proper Rule of Faith and Manners. And whether Mr. Marion has not done this, I desire any impartial Reader to judge. His Words are these, *d* *You ought at the same time to acknowledge; yes, my Child, they ought to acknowledge that Error and Mutilation has got into my Gospel. Do not flatter yourselves, I tell you, I come to manifest the sure Truth to the Earth.* And at another time, ** The Gospel is so spoiled, as that we must have it quite new.* Here is a Blow at the Root, a killing Stroke. For if some things have been expunged out of the Gospel, and others foisted into it, so that there is need of new Apostles to be sent for the Publication of the Truth, what is become of the *Faith*

c *Falshood of the new Prophets*, p. 24. *d* *Warnings*, Part 2. p. 191.

** Sir R. B's Answer to several Treatises*, p. 70.

that was once delivered to the Saints? Or what Rule can such imperfect Scriptures be to any conscientious Christian, who heartily desires to be informed, *what good thing he must do, that he may have eternal Life?* If this be true, in how miserable a Condition must all those be, who have given themselves up to the Guidance of these Holy Writings, as the only sure and infallible Rule, that our Blessed Saviour has bequeathed to his Church? If it be false, as it most certainly is, abominably, wickedly false, there needs no other Proof to shew from what *manner of Spirit* it proceeds. None but the Father of Lies could suggest such a groundless malicious Accusation, whereby as much as in him is, to shake the Foundations of our Religion, and stagger the Faith of all that hear it.

But blessed be God, there is no cause to fear any very ill consequence of it, it is so foul a Slander, that it is to be hoped, none who are not delivered over to a *reprobate Mind*, or a *Spirit of Slumber*, will give the least heed to it. Besides the good Providence of God, taking a peculiar care of what is thus incomparably useful, in order to the Salvation of Mankind, which is therefore a very good Security against any such, either Interpolation, or Mutilation, as here pretended: Besides this, I say, the Scriptures have had such Multitudes of Copies, and undergone such variety of Impressions, have been so dispersed over the Face of the Earth, translated into so many Languages, put into so many Hands, enquired into by so many Commentators, Paraphrasts, Criticks, and Christians of all Sorts, that it has been in a manner impossible for any material Corruption to have crept into them. Neither does ^c Mr. *Marion* who uttered, nor Mr. *L.* who

^c Neither Mr. M. I say, nor Mr. L. instance in any of these pretended Errors or Mutilations. But Mr. Hoadly tells us of another that did,

who published this Calumny, pretend to instance in any, as they most certainly would have thought it necessary to do, if they had really believed themselves in this their heavy, but causeless Charge. Wherefore all the use I shall make of it is, to caution Persons against imagining, that such Teachers can come from God, who thus shamefully vilifie and seek to undermine his Holy Word.

4. *Lastly.* Their excessive Spight against the Clergy, whom they persecute upon all occasions, with the utmost Intemperance, the bitterest Invectives, and most unchristian Calumnies, as if they were a Pack of the vilest Reprobates upon the Face of the Earth, and made it their only Business to deceive their Hearers, and carry them blindfold into eternal Perdition. When our Blessed Saviour acquainted his Disciples, how nearly the Disrespect they might meet with, from such to whom they were to be sent, would affect himself; it is easie to infer that he did not look upon them, to deserve this rough Treatment, in requital for all the Pains they should undergo in preaching the Gospel. ^f *He, says our Saviour, that beareth you, beareth me, and he that despiseth you, despiseth me, and he that despiseth me, despiseth him that sent me.* And they ought questionless to be regarded as ^g *the Ambassadors of Christ, and* ^h *Stewards of the Mysteries of God;* and to be received with all

did, in a very extraordinary manner. One of your Friends, says he, when Mr. L. was taxed with fixing a Word in one of his Inspirations upon the Prophet Isaiah, which was not in him [affirms] that the Word was once in the Original, and now restored by the Spirit's Direction to Mr. L. After which rate they may make the Scripture a perfect Nose of Wax, as Mr. H. well observes, may prove what they please from Scripture, and fix what they please upon the Prophets. Vindicat. of the Ancient Prophets, p. 21, 22.

^f St. Luke 10. 16.

^g 2 Cor. 5. 20.

^h 1 Cor. 4. 1.

the Reverence and Attention that is due to those who not only ⁱ *preach the Word of God*, but moreover ^k *watch for the Souls* of those committed to their charge, *as they that must give an account, that they may do it with joy, and not with grief.* Their Business is ^l *to wait at the Altar*; ^m *to minister about holy things*; ^{*} *to labour in the Word and Doctrine*; ⁿ *to be ensamples to their Flocks*; ^o *to labour fervently for them in Prayers*; ^p *to remit and retain Sins*, and, in a Word, ^q *to feed the Church of God, which he has purchased with his own Blood.* They are ^r *Workers together with Christ*; ^s *Labourers in the Lord's Vineyard*; appointed in their different Orders and Stations, ^t *for the perfecting of the Saints, for the Work of the Ministry, for the edifying the Body of Christ.*

And how dreadful an Account then must such have to give up at the last Day, who not only forbear to treat them according to their high Character, and the sacred Image they bear; not only refuse to pay them the Honour due to their Holy Function, but contemn and affront them, and causelessly endeavour to expose them *for their very Work sake*? If People had any Reverence for our Lord himself, one way of expressing it would naturally be, by respecting those who are more especially related to him, his more immediate Attendants, his Agents and Deputies. And, on the other hand, it must unavoidably argue a vain Mind, that has little Sense of God, or Religion, to slight and

ⁱ Rom. 10. 15.

^k Heb. 13. 17.

^l 1 Cor. 9. 13.

^m Ibid.

^{*} Tim. 5. 17.

ⁿ 1 St. Pet. 5. 3.

^o Col. 4. 12.

^p St. Job. 20. 23.

^q Acts 20. 28.

^r 1 Cor. 3. 9. 2 Cor. 6. 1.

^s St. Luk. 10. 2.

^t Ephes. 4. 12.

undervalue them. And such as do it, ought to remember, that he will resent the Affronts put upon them, as offered to himself, in whose Name they come, and from whom they received their Commission and Authority.

Yet did ever any do this more outrageously than Mr. L. and E. Gray? if not others also of their Party. It is easie to observe how the Clergy in general, without any distinction, are represented by them, as ^u *Cheats*, ^w *false Reasoners*, ^x *Men of corrupt Hearts*, ^y *subtle to deceive*, ^z *Pharisees*, ^a *Blasphemers*, ^b *Rejecters of Christ*, ^c *Men-pleasers*, ^d *deceitful Hypocrites, that speak fair, but have Malice in their Hearts*, ^e *and are of an implacable Spi-*

^u Well I come to plead with you all, you Pastors—— No pious Cheats. Are you the Men that charge so much Imposture upon my Messengers? Ay, ay, ay, ay. *Warnings*, Part 1. p. 41.

^w Your chief Reasonings shall be exposed, *ibid.*

^x Your corrupt Hearts shall be ript up in the view of all, *ibid.*

^y Ay, ay, subtle Doctors to deceive, to deceive, to deceive in this Point, *ibid.*

^z Well, you *Pharisees*, the Prophane shall shame you, *Part 2. p. 100.*

^a Those Blasphemers of my Name, *Letter to Mr. F. M. p. 13.*

^b Those Rejecters of my voice, *ibid.*

^c If you think to please Men, you cannot please me. *Warnings*, Part 1. p. 44.

^d A parcel of high-learned Men here, as they pretend to be, shall they come and plot against you? Yes, now this very minute they are plotting and contriving which way they shall begin again with you. They are making Snares to catch you in. They'll come and speak you fair, yet they could tear you to pieces in their Hearts, and hang you; yes, deceitful Hypocrites. They are afraid you should come and put down all their Learning, all their Doctrine, &c. *Warnings*, Part 2. p. 66. Ye Hypocrites! Less would have done for your People; ay, if they had not been yours, *p. 94.*

^e Lex non potest impedire severitatem furoris Sacerdotalis; nec etiam Detrimentum, quod quisq; sibi attrahit inde. *Part 1. p. 57.*

rit; are said to be ^f Dumb, ^g Deaf, ^h wilfully Blind, ⁱ to divine sweet things, to charm and lull the People asleep, ^k to trim with the World, and cheat both their own and others Souls, ^l to care for nothing but themselves, ^m to mind only their own Bellies, ⁿ to delude the People committed to their charge, ^o to be void of Humility, ^p learned to little purpose, and ^q afraid to

^f O ye Dumb, dumb Teachers, why don't ye raise your Voice like a Trumpet? p. 33. Whence then, that ye are dumb? What account do you give to your Flock? Is it nothing to you? Must Christ come to your Destruction? p. 40.

^g Oh sweet! Ay lovely! Ay Gospel-Dispensers! who must hear Mount *Sinai's* roaring to convince you. Part 2. p. 94.

^h The Guides of others will be found blind—— They have corrupted themselves and others. Part 3. p. 77. The wilfully Blind may lead the ignorantly Blind, but they shall both fall into the Ditch. p. 172.

ⁱ The Diviners that divine sweet things, to charm and lull asleep my People: I will make these Diviners mad. Part 1. p. 42.

^k This is trimming with the World, and cheating your own Souls, and others; 'tis not just before me. Part 2. p. 95.

^l You cared for nothing but your own selves; that will prove what you have been doing. p. 101.

^m The Ministers don't care for going to those Countries, where there is no good Belly-timber. p. 141.

ⁿ Let the Ministers come and hear me. The People will the more hate you, who deluded them. Part 3. p. 172.

^o Yes, these are a parcel of fine righteous Folks in their own Conceits. Part 2. p. 66. Well, you Teachers of others, if you don't humble your selves, you'll have none to teach, I can tell you, in a short time, p. 100. Ye then prepare by Humility, for you want it, p. 101.

^p You learned to little purpose; the ignorant shall see better things than you can. I send them to teach you; ay, and open the Scriptures to you that have studied them, &c. p. 100. Their fidle-fadle Comments, and a Bead-roll of Doctors, that know nothing of me, tho' they knew a few Books, and Letters jumbled together, p. 122.

^q The Ministers fearing to speak harsh things, clawing with the People, p. 35. You let any of them have good Quarter, so you are at ease with them. If they but respect you, you are gentle enough, *prudential*, as you call it. In short, afraid to reprove any of your own Sort and Communion, p. 100.

*reprove those of their Communion; are taxed with
 ' preferring their temporal Interest above all things;
 with ' purposely concealing the Truth; with ' undue
 Compliance with the World; with " taking all things*

*' The Clergy, of all Men, might by their Studies, be most ca-
 pable of discerning, if at the same time all their Interests did not
 go into the contrary Ballance, to make them unwilling to own
 the Authority of preceding Inspiration, Pref. to Cry from the Des.
 p. 21. Ah your Reserve of Interest worldly, worldly, shall be
 manifest. I taught that no one was to be worthy of my Name,
 or to be called by it, who did not quit all, all the World. And
 you teach, they that quit your Opinion, quit Christ, Warnings,
 Part 2. p. 94. No Quidlibets, Quodlibets, Gentlemen: No, no,
 plain Truth, whether it be for or against you. Against you,
 that is your worldly Interest, and that is your Religion, Part 3.
 p. 22.*

*' They would lock up, and keep the Keys of Knowledge, and so
 make merchandize of my Word. This is the Secret of the Mat-
 ter, Part 1. p. 22. Conscii veritatis, unde est non confitemini,
 O Pastores? p. 63. Oh Rottenness! Oh Rottenness! I see it, I
 see it. Ay! ye Keepers of the Keys, ye think the People, as ye
 call them, they are but the People, they are but Sheep. What?
 one Sheep so much above another? you think; the People! you are
 something more, you think they have too much Knowledge already*

**The Spirit, it seems, that
 spake by E. Gray, knew not
 what was told the People.
 And then I desire Sir R. B.
 Mr. L. and the rest of them to
 consider, WHAT SPIRIT
 THIS WAS. It is plain it
 could not be the good Spirit of
 God, for that searches all
 things, yea, the deep things of God, 1 Cor. 2. 10.*

*p. 95. There they keep my People
 in Ignorance, and tell them * I
 don't know what, Part 2. p. 66. I
 have called, and the Watchmen will
 not give Warning. Nay they stifle
 the Warning. Neither will hear
 themselves, nor suffer any to hear
 that they might believe, Part 3.
 p. 163.*

*' What pitiful Chicanery, for Ministers to take their Measures
 from the World, how you should serve me, Part 2. p. 94. You
 are afraid of displeasing; who? the World. You are afraid of
 losing your own Maintenance, p. 95.*

*" Will you examine into things? why, if it concerned you,
 you would. Base Treachery! You know you don't; you know
 you won't, *ibid.**

upon Trust, with ^w making a Trade of the Word,
^x and conspiring against Christ; and are ^y ranked
 with the Devil, and made his Instruments in car-
 rying on his wicked Designs; ^z are threaten'd with
 severe Judgments, and told that ^a their Knowledge
 would be taken from them, and that ^b Children
 should teach and confound them.

And all this ^c not for any real Fault of the Cler-
 gy they thus censure and condemn, for no wilful
 neglect

^w Oh ye egregious Fools! Is there any Wisdom against the
 Lord? Do ye think to make a Trade of my Word? Was it given
 into your Hands to chaffer with? *Part 1. p. 40.*

^x What are you in that cursed Conspiracy against my Son?
p. 33. O severe Censure of me! No Indulgence, no Quarter, no
 Law; no Power, no Protection for me! No compassionate Pastor,
 to receive for once his wandring Lord! No, no, no, not a Hear-
 ing, &c. *p. 50, 51.* *O Pastores, unde est ut discordantes alius,*
mibi Bellum gerere, sine ullâ Dissensione determinati estis? Isti! de
illis nil, nil expectandum. p. 63.

^y He [the Devil] had rather a thousand Parsons, than one
 true Prophet. *Part 2. p. 71.* Healing and Gifts won't turn all:
 No, *THE DEVIL AND THE PRIESTS* have a great share ve-
 ry fast, and won't easily part with their Right. *p. 130.*

^z It is not their being Ministers of the Gospel, shall prevent my
 Judgments reaching them. No, no, sore and heavy shall they be
 upon the Heads of those Blasphemers of my Name, those Despi-
 sers of my Appearance, those Rejecters of my Voice. I say, *So-*
dom and Gomorrah shall appear to the aggravating their Misery.
Letter to Mr. F. M. p. 13. All their Subterfuges shall fail. I
 will pursue them through their Caves, and every lurking Retreat
 of their Fancies, Teachers! Teachers that will not teach my
 Word! They will be Leaders; I will break some of their Obsti-
 nacy. *Warnings, Part 1. p. 29.*

^a If you don't believe in my Christ, now, now taking Posses-
 sion of his Throne, your Cistern shall be empty'd of that little
 Knowledge you have soon. *p. 95.*

^b O ye learned Doctors, Sucklings shall confound you, you, you:
 I will make Babes teach you. *p. 34.*

^c They will not declare the Glory of my Grace, that shall be
 in those Times, because their sorry Gifts shou'd not fall into Con-
 tempt. *p. 22.* Your Ministers here don't teach, nor proclaim my
 approaching Kingdom. *p. 58.* Wonder! Wonder! that all Parsons
 that can agree in no one thing beside, should all agree in oppo-

neglect of their own Duty, either as Priests or Christians, but barely for not chiming in with their new Dreams, and studying to profelyte the World to them.

These are some of the Complements our Pretenders bestow upon the Clergy at every Turn, and without any other Provocation to it, than their honest Endeavours to preserve their People from being taken in the Snares that are laid for them. After this manner do these Men expose their own Weakness, and such a Temper of Mind, as very ill becomes any of the Professors of Christianity, but more especially such who would be thought more nearly related to Almighty God, and to come by his immediate Order.

When our Saviour would have enter'd into a Village of the *Samaritans*, and the Inhabitants would not admit of him, and his Apostles, *St. James* and *St. John* highly offended at such a foul Indignity offer'd to their Lord, would have call'd for *Fire from Heaven to consume them*, as *Elias* did^d upon *Abab's* Messengers, our Saviour would by no means allow of it, but rebuked them,^e saying, *Ye know not what manner of Spirit ye are of.* As much as to say, this Carriage favours not of that mild, gentle, peaceable Temper of the Gospel, which ought to shew forth it self in all its Professors; but whereto the Spirit of *Elias*, though an excellent Man considering the Dispensation he liv'd under, was altogether unsuitable: ^f *For the Son of Man*, says our Saviour, *came not to destroy Mens Lives, but to save them:* Yet these Men make no Scruple to vilify, abuse, slander, and threaten with the heaviest Pe-

sing this, That it is God's diffusing his Spirit. He promised it; the greatest Gift he ever promised to his Church: And now there can be no such thing. *Part 3. p. 13. With multitudes of other Places to the like purpose, too many to be mentioned here.*

^d 2 Kings 1. 10, &c.

^e St. Luk. 9. 55.

^f V. 56.

nalties,

nalties, not Foreigners and Enemies to our most Holy Religion, as the *Samaritans* were to that of the *Jews*, nor only Christians at large; but the Clergy too, those whom God has chosen to be his Agents and Representatives, in order to the reclaiming a sinful World. And hereby they shew how exceedingly different their Spirit is from that of our Lord, and his Apostles, and other Disciples; and that such their Doctrine, as well as their manner of Conversation, proves them effectually not to have the Divine Spirit.

5. A farther Evidence against these Prophets, falsely so call'd, is Mr. *Lacy's* scandalous Management, as to the Holy Sacrament of the Lord's Supper; which he not only took upon him to administer, as the *Cevennois*, without a Call to the Priesthood, but moreover made perfectly a Mock-Sacrament of it; as if his Design had been purely to affront and vilify this Holy Ordinance, and expose it in the most ridiculous manner he could invent. So we find by his own Description of his profane Administration: He call'd his Friends to partake of *an empty Plate, and Cup or Bowl, plac'd upon the Table*, as if it had been *a Table richly deck'd with spiritual Food*, inviting them in our Saviour's Name, to *RECEIVE*, to *come and drink of the Wine that he had mingled*, and which he pretends our Saviour to profess *had cost him dear*, when he knew very well there was not a Drop of Wine upon the Table, nor any thing at all to be received. Then he first delivers *the Plate* with Promises of *Variety of Dainties, Food whereof every Crumb should become a Loaf of Joy, a Plate well heap'd, and abundantly satisfying to the Soul; such Entertainment as once eaten, will nourish to all Eternity*. Whereas in truth here was no Food at all, not so much as one

Crumb to feed upon, nothing but *a Plate* given into their Hands successively without any manner of thing in it. Then both Cup and Plate are given, and they are said to have not Wine, but *the Figure, the Token, and Shadow of Wine* exhibited to them hereby.

What can be more senseless than this, or a grosser Abuse of so solemn a part of our Religion, as the Lord's Supper, is acknowledg'd by all to be? Would not any one that had ever heard of our Saviour's Institution, and of this fantastick Representation of it, readily think the one intended only as a wilful Affront and Disparagement to the other? How then can such a mimical Farce be any way reconcil'd to the Nature of that most Divine Ordinance, whereby our Blessed Lord commanded in a solemn manner, *to shew forth his Death till he come* at the last Day to judge the World, by partaking of those Symbols of his Body and Blood, which he has appointed to that end? Could any Action be a more ridiculous Profanation of it?

Nor is it much to his Advantage, that he pleads for himself, ^h that *there was no Commemoration of Christ's Death; and all that he understood the Spirit to mean by that Ceremony, was an Emblematical Representation of the Admittance of the Guests at the Wedding-Supper of the Lamb, when that King will espouse the Church in a manner he never did before, and bid her sit down with him at a Feast of fat things prepared for all Nations.* For I refer it to any one that shall observe the manner of his Procedure herein, and more particularly those Words, ⁱ *Come, drink of the Wine that I have mingled: It cost me dear: It is sweet to you. The Wine I give you is my Spirit, with his comforting Grace,* Whether it does not most

^h Relation of God's Dealings, p. 18.

ⁱ Warnings, Part 2. p. 103.

naturally seem to be an unworthy and abusive resemblance of the Holy Eucharist; and whether any one upon reading his own Account of it, would have understood it otherwise.

6. And yet once more, Mr. L. not only thus intolerably profanes this Blessed Sacrament, but I might farther observe in the last place, that he attempts at the same time to introduce another of his own inventing, and which the Gospel knows nothing of, namely, *by going round to every one at the Table, taking them by the right Hand, and professing by this Action to seal the Promises to them, and give them all to them in and by this solemn Token, to confirm all the Graces of the Spirit to them, to give them Livery and Seisin, and a Token of the Covenant or Bargain voluntarily made with them by Christ Jesus our Lord.* This is notably done, and shews him under some strange Delusion. Nor did any that ever came in our Saviour's Name thus presumptuously usurp his Authority, to his Dishonour, and their own Reproach. But I forbear.

The Summ is, that if Breach of Faith, Resistance to Authority, a merciless Destruction of their Neighbour's Houses, and of God's Churches; if decrying Human Learning, and Academies and Schools for promoting it, as for other Purposes, so more particularly in order to a right understanding of the Holy Scriptures, and the Will of God; if unsettling the Foundations of all Civil Authority; if a diabolical Spite against the Ministers of the Gospel, by reason of their faithful Discharge of their Function; if undertaking to administer the Blessed Eucharist, without being admitted to the Priesthood, to make a Farce of vain Pageantry of it, or to set up another new Sacrament never instituted by Christ, nor once heard of since the first Foundation of the Christian Church; if any, or all of these gross Miscarriages be contrary to Scripture, and the Design and

End of the Gospel, then must these Men be self-condemn'd, for directing and encouraging their Followers to the Practice of them.

I have now sufficiently proved the four Propositions I laid down, for evincing the Absurdity of these Mens Pretences to a Divine Inspiration; and have shewn how unlikely it is, that Almighty God would raise up a new Set of Prophets, upon no more urgent Occasion than has been for these Pretenders appearing as they have done; as also, that if he had sent them, he would undoubtedly have born the most convincing Testimony to the Truth of their Mission, abundantly beyond any that they have come with; and their Predictions would as certainly have been made good, as now they have fail'd in every Particular; nor would they have allow'd themselves, or others, in any thing disagreeable to the Divine Will, as they have done in many Instances to their own Shame and Confusion, and so as to be a just *WARNING* to all Mankind not to be led away by their Delusions.

Here therefore I should have taken leave of them, and had fully design'd it: But in looking over the Writings relating to themselves and their Prophecies, I have met with a plentiful Superfetation of other Arguments against them, which I must not wholly pass by without some notice taken of them; though I shall be sure to dispatch them as briefly as I can.

I. And the first I shall mention, is taken from their violent and unusual Agitations, so violent, that it is affirm'd in particular of Mr. L. that he has *frequently been shaken to that degree, that if it had been by any outward Force or Power, * it would have shaken his Limbs from his Body, in the Opinion of those who have sometimes seen it.* Upon these Agitations they value themselves very highly, as if

* *Warnings*, Part I. p. 1. See also Mr. Halford's Letter, p. 21. concerning his Brother Stephen.

they were so many undoubted Tokens of a Divine Influence upon the Persons agitated; and yet they are really so many Evidences against it. The Prophet *Hosea* speaks of a Prophet seized in this manner, who according to the LXXII. was ὁ παρ᾽ ἑαυτοῦ, ὁ παρ᾽ ἑαυτοῦ, a Prophet besides himself, a parecstick Prophet, or who was in one of these Parecstickies or Agitations. But then it is to be noted, that he speaks not this of a true Prophet, but of one of the false Prophets, whom God was provoked to let the Devil send amongst his People for the Punishment of their Iniquities; as is very well express'd by à *Lapide* upon the Place: *Habuisti falsos stultosq; Prophetas, qui te deciperent, & in exitium agerent; quia id merebatur multa tua iniquitas, & amentia, quâ Deum tuum, ejusq; veros Prophetas semper spre- visti. Thou hast had false and foolish Prophets to de- ceive thee, and hurry thee on to thine own Destruction, because thou hadst deserved to be thus imposed upon, by reason of thy Sin and Madness, in continually de- spising thy God, and his true Prophets.* But where do we ever read of any true Prophet thus agitated? No where in Scripture; neither in the Old, nor in the New Testament. And amongst the ancient Christians, a quite different Construction was made of such Agitations, inasmuch as they were looked upon by these, as Signs of Imposture, or Delusion.

Tertullian indeed speaks of a Woman in his Days, that was vouchsafed the Gifts of Revelations that were made to her in Ecstasy, who conversed with Angels, and sometimes with the Lord himself, saw and heard Mysteries, discover'd the Secrets of the Heart, and cured Diseases; just as these Pretenders give out concerning themselves. But this was a Woman amongst the *Montanists*, and whose aim was not to promote true Christianity, but the Interest

¹ De Anima, c. 9.

of that particular Sect. And at another time, he affirms St. Peter, St. James, and St. John, not to have seen that inaccessible Light, in which our Lord appear'd at his Transfiguration, ^m *without running the hazard of losing their Reason, and becoming mad.* But this is still the same Tertullian, who though a great Man, and a strenuous Defender of Christianity, against Heathens, Jews, and Hereticks; yet after he was drawn aside to embrace the Heresy of the *Montanists*, might well be expected to have the same Notions in this Point they had.

But the generality of the Fathers speak after a very different manner. *Clemens Alexandrinus* mentions it, ⁿ as a known Property of false Prophets, *to prophesie in Ecstasy, as the Ministers of Satan.* And *Origen* is positive concerning the true Prophets, ^o that they underwent not an Alienation of Mind, as some suspected, nor were forced by the Spirit to speak they knew not what. And proves his Assertion from that of the Apostle, ^p *If any thing be revealed to another that sitteth by, let the first hold his Peace.* Whence, says he, it is plain, the Speaker when he will can speak, and when he will can hold his Tongue. But nothing can be more express to our present purpose, than what *Eusebius* mentions of a Treatise of *Miltiades*, to prove ^q *μὴ δὲν περὶ φηῖν ἐν ἐκστασει λαλεῖν*, That a Prophet should not be in an Ecstasy, when he speaks; and of the same *Miltiades* arguing, that the false Prophets spake in Parecstasies, and without Wit or Fear; but no one Prophet either of the Old or New Testament did so. So also St. Basil, ^r *Some say the Prophets prophecy'd in Ecstasies, the human Understanding being overpower'd by*

^m Adv. Prax. c. 15.

ⁿ οἱ ψευδοπροφῆται τῶν ὄντων — ἐν ἐκστασει περὶ φηῖν, ὡς αὖ

^o Ἀποστάτη διάκονοι Strom. l. i. p. 311.

^p In Ezek. Hom. 6. ab init.

^p 1 Cor. 14. 30.

^q Hist. Eccl. l. 5. c. 17.

^r In Esai. Prophet. λογ. α' p. 17.

the Spirit; but this is perfectly besides the Promises. And can any one, says he, think it reasonable that the Spirit of Wisdom should make one like a mad Man? It must be a wicked Power therefore, most probably, that disorders the Mind; and it must be impious to ascribe any such effect to the Divine Spirit. Agreeably whereto, St. Jerome ^f condemns the Montanist's Whimseys, who imagined the Prophets to prophesy in Ecstasy and discomposure of Mind. And in the Preface to his Commentary on Nabum, ^g The Prophet speaks not in Ecstasie, as Montanus with Prisca and Maximilla dream; but what he prophesies, is the Book of one that understands all he says. Thus St. Chrysostom ^h distinguishes the Idolatrous Prophets of the false Gods, and the true Prophets, by this, that the former are possessed by an evil Spirit, so as not to know what they say, to be Ecstatical, or besides themselves, to be violently agitated, and hurried hither and thither like a mad Man, but the other not so, for he is of a sober Mind, and sound Understanding, and knows very well whatever he speaks. With these also concurs Epiphanius, objecting to the Tascodrugite Montanists, that whilst there was need of Prophets truly inspired, holy Men prophesied, ⁱ ἐρρωμένη διανοία καὶ ὁμοιοῦς ἐν τῷ νῷ, with a firmness and consistency of Mind and Understanding. No News all this time of any Parecstasies, and frightful Agitations, in any of the Prophets, except who were falsely and undeservedly so called. The true Prophets were not wont then to be drunk with Prophecy, as Sir R. B. ^k affirms of these Pretenders; no being thrown

^f In Esai. Prophet, c. i. v. i.

^g Non enim loquitur in ἐκστάσει, &c. See also the Prologue to his Commentary upon Habakkuk.

^h In 1 Cor. 12. 1, 2. ⁱ Hæres. 48. n. 3.

^k Answer to several Treatises, p. 9.

down, ^y so as to have the Head come first to the Ground; ^z no hitting against corners of Chairs, without feeling the Blow; no ^a being tossed backwards from their Seats; ^b no terrible Shakings; ^c frightful Distortions; ^d battering themselves; ^e no being flung upon the Ground, or beating themselves; ^f or dropping down upon Chairs; ^g no horizontal Motions of the Head, or Twitchings of the Stomach; ^h no Staggering, Sobbing, and Catching; ⁱ no Swoonings; ^k no being carried cross the Room in Ecstasie, ^l or being for a time deprived of the use of their Limbs, only that they might appear to have them restored soon after. No, these Motions and Impressions much better become the Preachers of this New Dispensation. And they have their full liberty to boast as much as they please of them. Yet all impartial Readers must conclude whatever is more than natural in them, to proceed from a Spirit there is no great reason to boast of.

The ^m Spirit in the Gospel threw down the young Man possessed with it, so that he foamed, and gnashed with his Teeth, and ⁿ fainted away. But it was no good, but an *evil* Spirit that did this, a Diabolical wicked Spirit, such as ^o Sir R. B. acknowledges some Prophets to be acted by; such

^y P. 42. ^z Ibid.

^a Like Jean Vernet, *Cry from the Desert*, p. 14.

^b Such as those of Jean Cabanel, p. 20.

^c Like those of Cabritt, p. 21.

^d Like Peter Bernaut, p. 30.

^e As James Bouflege, and Susan Joncquet, p. 35.

^f As the young Woman at Vigan, p. 79.

^g As Mr. Lacy. *Preface to Warnings*, Part 1. p. 4.

^h As in the Girl mentioned by Sarah Dalgone, *Cry*, p. 81.

ⁱ As in the little Girl in Dauphiny, p. 112.

^k As Mr. L. *Warnings*, Part 2. p. 65, 116.

^l As is told of Mr. L. and E. Gray, p. 90, 97.

^m S. Mar. 9. 18. ⁿ Grot. in loc.

^o Answer to several Treatises, p. 8.

as ^p Stephen Halford attributes it to, that he was violently thrown down upon his Back; was seen abroad, when certainly not out of the House, and had his own and his fellow Travellers Horses sadly frightened upon the Road; and which ^a John Gilpin, a Convert from the Quakers, looked upon as the cause of his strange Motions and Possessions.

And what proof can it possibly be in behalf of these Pseudoprophets, that they find themselves affected in like manner? What proof that it is not the same sort of Spirit that agitates them? If these Agitations have not been observed amongst true Prophets, but only amongst false Pretenders to Prophecy, it is easie to determine amongst which of them they may, and ought to rank themselves.

2. Their Disagreement in their Inspirations is another considerable Argument against them; some of them having offended others to that degree that Sir R. B. testifies, ^r the Spirit to have withdrawn its Visits from them for many Weeks, till they came to a better Sense of their Duty. And Mr. Nicholson affirms, ^r that they have accused one another of speaking their own Words and Imaginations, and sometimes what was false, even whilst speaking in the Person of God. Which is a dreadful Symptom, and ought certainly to put them upon considering, by what Spirit they are acted, and what is like to become of both themselves and their Followers, unless they renounce these Delusions, and return to a better Mind.

3. Mr. L—'s *Noli prosequi* is as convincing a Disproof of a Divine Inspiration, as ^r the Cynick's wal-

^p Letter from Birmingham, p. 4, 5.

^a Defence of the Snake in the Grass, p. 31, 32, 33, 34.

^r Answer to several Treatises, p. 9.

^r Falshood of the new Prophets, p. 18, 19.

^r Diog. Laert. in vit. Diog.

king was of all the Arguments that could be brought against Motion. " Mr. Calamy charges him with going for a *Noli prosequi* to a Person of Eminence, that could not legally grant it. Which, if true, shewed, beyond all manner of Question, that he went by a wrong Direction. What Answer therefore does he give to this Charge? He offers at two, but both such as in no wise become a Person of Sincerity, much less one who pretends to a Divine Commission for what he says. " First, he says, a *Noli prosequi* had a different Sense in the Language of God's Spirit, from what it has in our Law. But this he does not pretend to make out. And if he had, it would have been no sort of Answer to the Charge against him, of going to a wrong Person for a *Noli prosequi*, whatever the Meaning of it were. Secondly, he argues, * that he had been with the Attorney General, June 17th, about a *Noli prosequi*, and could not therefore be supposed ignorant on the 18th of June, whose Province it was to grant such a Writ. Now I have nothing to say to the 18th of June, not knowing the Day of this Adventure. But two things I must say, for which I have good Authority. The one, That this Gentleman has given no Answer to the Accusation, but what will very much confirm the belief of it. The other, That I have good reason besides, to believe the truth of the Fact, that Mr. L. did apply himself, as by Direction from the Spirit, to a great Person for a *Noli prosequi*, and received an Answer to this effect, That none but a lying Spirit could send him on such an Errand, because the Spirit knew it was not *His*, but the Attorney General's Office to grant that Writ. His Lordship is too great a Person for me to have this immediately from himself; but upon such Enqui-

" *Caveat against the new Prophets*, p. 54.

" *Ibid.*

* *Relation of God's Dealing*, &c. p. 18.

ry as I could make, I think my self so fully informed of it, that I may safely publish it, without doing wrong either to Truth, or Mr. L. I add, that whatever Sense he pretends a *Noli prosequi* to have, in the Sense of *God's Spirit*, he must necessarily have come for it in the Law-Sense, because otherwise it would be of no use to him. And then I am sure I may leave it to any one to judge, whether his Inspiration can possibly be from the Holy Ghost.

4. A Doctrine that subverts any Fundamental Article of the *Creed*, cannot possibly be from God. Yet Sir R. Bulkely teaches, ¹ that *the new Creation, as material, is to be measured by time*. Which, if there be any Argument in the Words, must imply, that whatever is material, *must be measured by time*; and by consequence, that the Body can never be raised to an immortal State, because howsoever refined, spiritualized, and glorified, it will yet be *material*, and being so, *to be measured by time*: In contradiction to the Apostle St. Paul, assuring us, that though *it is sown in corruption*, ² it shall nevertheless be *raised in incorruption*, and consequently eternal, and so not to be *measured by time*. It is true Sir R. B. does not reckon himself one of the Inspired, but yet being a great Admirer and Defender of them, it may reasonably be supposed, he would not publish any thing relating to them, that some of them should not first approve of. At least it must be said, that none of them appear to have shewn their Dislike of it, since it was published.

5. Their professing themselves Protestants, and yet at the same time carrying on the Designs of Popery, is not very agreeable to a Pretence of being sent by God. That there are Papists amongst them, I think, cannot well be doubted, if it be considered, that ³ *Elias Marion*, One of the Three

¹ Answer to several Treatises, p. 61. ² 1 Cor. 15: 42.

³ Account of the three French Prophets, p. 19.

French Prophets, confessed before the Consistory of the Savoy, that to the Age of Three or Four and twenty, he had practised the ROMISH RELIGION; that Cavalier, by his own Confession, ^b had been placed by his Father amongst the JESUITES, and continued with them seven Years, and afterwards assembled ^c the Protestants, under a Pretence of Devotion, and then betrayed them, and had them seized; that at an Assembly in Baldwin's-Gardens, there was a certain ^d Man disguised like a Tradesman of the meanest Rank, who yet spoke Greek perfectly well, and is related moreover to pronounce it after the manner of the Jesuits Schools; that at the same Assembly was likewise a little black Man, with dirty Hands and Face, that spake Greek readily, but refused to answer when asked what Countryman he was; that a Papist, a Man of no good Fame for any thing but his Ingenuity and Learning, was certainly amongst them when they removed to Enfield; and lastly, that the Papists are always ready to send their Emissaries forth to intrude into all new Societies, to turn themselves into all Shapes, and foment Divisions amongst all that are not of their Party; as they have done amongst the ^e Puritans, amongst the ^f Quakers, amongst the ^g Independents, amongst the ^h Scotch Presbyterians, and ⁱ those in England, and ^k Ireland. These things, I say, considered, it seems to me no difficult Supposition to

^b P. 24. ^c Ibid. ^d P. 50.

^e *Foxes and Firebrands*, p. 18, 19, 27, 28, 31, &c. B^r. Stillingfleet's *Preface to his Unreasonableness of Separation*, p. 31.

^f *Prynne's Quakers unmask'd*, p. 3, 4. *Baxter to the Reader of his Quaker's Catechism. Reply to Anguis flagellatus*, p. 333, 334, 348, 349. *Foxes and Firebrands*, p. 141.

^g *Edwards's Gangræna*, Part 2. p. 16. *Foxes and Firebrands*, p. 104, &c. *Calamy's Abridgment of Baxter's Life*, p. 58, &c.

^h *Foxes and Firebrands*, p. 61.

ⁱ P. 62, 98, &c.

^k P. 107, 108.

imagine that the Papists should have a Party¹ amongst these pretended Prophets also.

Nor is it unreasonable to think a Popish Interest to be carrying on by some of them, whilst we see them, as I have already observed, undervaluing the Holy Scriptures, as mutilated and erroneous. This seems to imply some other Design amongst them, than what appears above-board; and which were they what they profess, and could they dive into the Heart, as they pretend to do, they would

¹ Arch-Bishop Bramhal gives a full Account of these Mens creeping into all Places, and insinuating themselves wherever they can, under Disguises, in order to the carrying on their Designs, though by the worst of Means. Letter to Arch-Bishop Usher, CCXCIII. And I have now a farther Instance to add of their Management in this kind, which the World is not yet acquainted with. It is of one Lewis Prevost, some Years since of Canterbury, who lived there under the Appearance of a Weaver, and called himself a Protestant, and professed himself very ignorant, so much as not to understand his Letters; which the French Preacher there, Mr. Bughrée was willing to undertake the trouble of teaching him, and found him a very apt Scholar; till at length a Difference happening betwixt this Prevost, and a Companion that came and lived with him, the other discovered him to be a Popish Priest, to Mr. Thomas Fidge, then Mayor of Canterbury, delivering into his Hand several Papers, confirming his Accusation. Prevost made his escape, but the Papers were secured, and are now in my custody: And they are these that follow: The Bishop of St. Omer's Instrument of the said Prevost's Admission to the Tonsure; the same Bishop's Instrument for his Office of an Acolythe; and another of his Ordination to the Office of a Subdeacon; the Bishop of Ghent's Letters of Orders, when he was made a Deacon, together with Letters dimissory, in order to his Ordination; this Bishop's Testimonial, of having conferred the Order of Priesthood upon him; and Letters dimissory from the Vicars-General of Tournay, during the vacancy of that See; the Bishop of Tournay's Grant for him to quit that Diocese; an Instrument of his Dismission from the Employment of Chaplain, or Vicar of Arquinghem, by the Pastor, Bayliffs and Sheriffs; and another from the Parish-Priest there, of his having been his Vicar. All which Testimonials were put into my Hand some time since, by the Reverend Dr. Simon Lowth, who brought them with him from Canterbury, having received them from Mr. Thomas Enfield, Mayor of that City, in the Year 1674, 3 Years after Mr. Fidge, to whom these Papers were delivered.

easily

easily discover to be no way conducive to God's Glory, or the Benefit of his Church and true Religion; but highly prejudicial to them, and therefore by no means pleasing to Almighty God, nor likely to have proceeded from him.

6. Their not following the Dictates of the Spirit, but going contrary to what they declare to have been thus enjoyn'd them, is a Proof of their Insincerity that will not be got over. For thus we read of the *French Prophets*, that ^m *they seem'd resolv'd to return into their own Country*, and even within a few days, according to the Order they said they had receiv'd from the Spirit; but afterwards seeing they were supported by the English, that the People went to see them out of Curiosity, and there were continually Coaches at their Doors; this made them forget the Spirit had commanded them to depart in a few Days; and they said, as St. Peter did at the *Transfiguration in the Mountain*, *It is good for us to be here*, bidding defiance to the foresaid Consistory, and refusing to appear again before them. As I have also already observed Mr. L--y's Declaration concerning the Order professed to be given him of appearing at the Place of Dr. Emie's Interment, that notwithstanding a positive Order said to be given him, he stuck not to acknowledge before-hand, and in Fact made it good afterwards, that ⁿ *unless some Appearances of Divine Attestation, far above what had been, shou'd intervene his Faith wou'd not suffice to obey the Spirit in going thither*. This was their manner of following the Directions they owned themselves to have received from the Spirit. Whereas any true Prophet that had received them, would have held himself indispensably obliged to the Observance of them.

^m *Account of the three French Prophets*, p. 12, 13, 14.

ⁿ *Relation of God's Dealing, &c.* p. 31.

7. The gross Immoralities of these *Cevennois* is a strong Prejudice to the Belief of their being divinely inspired. Hear one of them professing, ° *that he would kill his own Father, if the Spirit commanded it*; though as I have just now related, he would not return into his own Country upon such a Command. Observe another ^p using such Rudeness to a Servant in his Inn, that she was forc'd to cry out for help; and again ^q Swearing, singing obscene Songs, and keeping Company with Women of no good Reputation. Behold another of them accused by as infallible a Prophet as himself, of ^r *having perjur'd himself, and greatly offended God*. And let any one think, whether these are like to be, as they would be thought, true Prophets; and whether their Followers are not wretchedly imposed upon by such Guides as these.

8. The Author of the Letter to Mr. F. M. whom I do not find contradicted by any of them in it, attests, that ^s *they hired poor ignorant People to be of their Sect and Number, allowing some fifteen Shillings a week, as* ^t *might be witnessed upon Oath*. As the honest Quaker also testifies of one affrighted into a Compliance in entering his Name amongst those who were present, when a supposed Miracle was to be wrought, by ^u *E. Gray's saying, He should not see the Miracle if he did not comply*; and a certain Gentleman's threatening him thereupon, in these Words; ^v *Young Man, there is a possibility with God to strike you blind, and you don't know but he may take away your Sight*. A Woman also is said ^x to have been furiously assaulted, and thrust out of their Company in an outrageous manner, only because she would not own her self to have had a De-

° P. 21.

^r P. 26, 27.

^q Ibid.

^s P. 28.

^p Letter, p. 6.

^t P. 7.

^u Hon. Quaker, p. 2, 3.

^v P. 3.

^x Letter to Mr. F. M. p. 9.

vil, and been dispossessed by them. But if these be the Effects of the Prophetick Spirit, and such as these their Methods of gaining Profelytes, I pray God for ever keep me and all honest Men from being such Prophets.

9. Mr. *Halford* relates of one *Taylor*, a pretended Prophet at *Birmingham*,^y that *January* the 27th 1707. he in Ecstasy made this Declaration, *My Servant John, surnamed Lacy, is dead.* Which I dare say Mr. *L.* himself will not say, is an irrefragable Proof of a Divine Inspiration; and yet it was delivered in the same manner with the rest of their Prophecies.

10. The Character given of the three *Camisard* Prophets, the Heads of the rest, by the Directors at the *Savoy*, is^z so extravagantly scandalous, that it is obvious to conclude, no good might be expected from them. Nor could it be thought God would ever deliver his Messages by the Mouths of such notorious Wretches; especially since no Body could have relied upon any thing they should say, if he had.

11. They inveigh against Black Cloaths,^a as the Devil's Livery; and for this wise Reason, *because the Devil is said to be Black.* As if the Almighty would concern himself in such indifferent Matters, or would be offended at any for the use of their Liberty in them. Not to add, that such their Censure falls upon divers others, as well as the Clergy, at whom it is chiefly levelled, and even upon their own dear selves as oft as they have occasion of going into Mourning; which is not only^b allowable in it self, but has always been looked upon as a de-

^y Letter from Birmingham, p. 2.

^z Account of the three French Prophets, p. 19, 20, 21.

^a Falshood of the new Prophets, p. 23. Warnings, Part 2. p. 66.

^b Eccles. 12. 5.

cent Respect to the Memory of our deceased Friends and Relations.

12. Their crying, *My Child, my Child*, continually, as they do throughout their Prophecies, though no undeniable Argument against them, is yet so unlike the Prophetick Stile, that it ought to be taken notice of.

13. The Lightness of others of their Expressions suits not with the Seriousness and Composure of Mind that is reasonably to be expected in such as come in God's Name; such as, *This is for your Unbelief, GENTLEWOMAN*, and other like Expressions, fit enough for an idle Girl out of the Play-house, and her Associates; but which have nothing like them to be found in the Writings of the true Prophets: None of whom ever spake after this manner.

14. Their *slighting and discountenancing the Sacrament of Baptism*, is no good Sign of their being divinely inspired. Yet Mr. Nicholson tells us, ^d *they admit those into their Society who never were baptized, and those who refuse and decry Baptism*. And when Mr. Dutton would have sent for a Minister to baptize his Child, ^e *the Spirit by his Maid, who was inspired, just as much as himself, prohibited them, crying out, Let no Black-coats come here*. Whereupon the said Mr. Nicholson makes this just Reflection: By what Spirit this scurrilous Language is so often used, let all Christians judge, and by what Authority that Institution of Christ is now nulled, to which he promised his Presence and Blessing to the End of the World. S. Mat. 28. 19, 20.

15. The ill Success they met with in the *Cevennes*, by the routing of their Forces, is a farther Evidence against them. Inasmuch as had their great

^c Warnings, Part 2. p. 111.

^e Ibid.

^d Falshood, &c. p. 24.

Leader *Cavalier*, and others of them been true Prophets, and authoriz'd by God to take up Arms, no doubt they would have come off victorious. It is the same thing to Almighty God *to save by many or by few*. He can enable ^e *five to chase a hundred; and a hundred to put ten thousand to flight*. And would certainly have wrought Deliverance for them by this means, how incompetent soever their own Numbers were for it, if he had seen this a proper Method of doing it. Which seeing he did not, this, as well as the Unlawfulness of their taking Arms as they did, shews them not to have lifted themselves by his Order and Appointment; and by consequence that those were no true Prophets who encouraged them to it.

16. One great Prop of their pretended Prophecy, is the part that ^s Children, I say not of ^h thirteen Years old and under, but of ⁱ three Years, of ^k fifteen Months, and of ^l six Months, ^{*} nay, of seven Days old, are said to have in it. And the Words of any of these are not only esteemed ^m *to conclude as much as those of any other Persons*; but their Inspirations are accounted ⁿ of double the Authority of others, by reason of their tender Age. And Mr. L. instances in it, as one of those Miracles whereby their Dispensation is attested, that ^o *Children should preach, ay, and foretel at that rate* they did amongst them. And if the Fact as to these little ones was true, it must be acknowledged very strange, and to have something supernatural in it; yet this will not prove it to be from God, but rather from another sort of Inspiration.

^e *Levit. 26. 8.* ^s *Cry from the Desert*, p. 5, 18, 37, 38, 39, 42, 59, 121. ^h *P.* 19, 23, 25, 29, 31, 58.
ⁱ *P.* 23, 31, 112. ^k *P.* 31. ^l *P.* 114.
^{*} *Sir R. B's Answ. to several Treat.* p. 107.
^m *Relat. of God's Dealings, &c.* p. 22.
ⁿ *Cry from the Desert*, Pref. p. xvi. ^o *Warnings*, Part 2. p. 96.

For we never read that God at any Time, or upon whatsoever Occasion, employ'd any such Child as his Prophet, or the Preacher of his Word. The only Instance I know in Scripture of a Boy to whom God had made any immediate Revelation, is that ^p of *Samuel*, and that comes not up at all to our present purpose: For he was one particularly devoted to God, ^q *bred up in the Temple*, and so prepared for the Reception of the Prophetick Spirit. Nor was he so very young, though younger than any other Prophet had been; for ^r *Josephus* reckons him to have been then in his thirteenth Year. And besides his Prophecying was only in one particular Case, for the Reproof of *Eli's* Unconcernedness at his Son's egregious Mismanagements in their Priestly Office, and at a time when there was a great scarcity of Prophets; for ^s *the Word of the Lord was precious in those Days, there was no open Vision*, no known Revelations then amongst them.

And in Ecclesiastical Writers, I remember but one Instance of such Prophets sent amongst Christians, but not one of any so young as these Pretenders boast of. *St. Cyprian* ^t mentions some Boys in his Days, whose *innocent Age was vouchsafed Night-Visions*, and who also in the Day-time were full of the Holy Ghost, and delivered what Admonitions and Instructions God saw fit to give them in charge. But But not a word of Babe-Prophets in any Part or Age of the World, till these Pretenders arose, and gave out they had such amongst them. We never

^p *I Sam. 3. 4, &c.* ^q ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ τρεφόμενος. *Joseph. Antiq. l. 5. c. 11.*

^r Σαμὴλ ὃς πεπληροκῶς ἦν ἔδην δωδέκατον, περὶ φήλας. *ibid.* ^s *I Sam. 3. 2.*

^t Præter nocturnas enim visiones, per dies quoq; impletur apud nos Spiritu Sancto Puerorum innocens ætas, quæ in extasi videt oculis, & audit, & loquitur ea quibus nos Dominus monere & instruere dignatur. *Epist. 16.*

find that God upon any account sent a little Child to publish his Doctrine to the World, or to foretel the Miseries Mankind would bring upon themselves by their Disobedience. Such Infant-Prophets were never known in Scripture, or any other credible Author, never mentioned as actually sent, nor ever promised for the future. And if this was never done under the Jewish Oeconomy, nor from the first Publication of the Gospel till this time, I take it to be no small Prejudice to these Mens pretended Inspirations, that such Preachers are said to be raised up amongst them now.

I know they plead the Prophet *Joel's* Authority in the Case, and would fain have this thought to be the Completion of his ^u Prediction. *The Prophecy of Joel*, says Mr. L. ^w warrants the Expectation of a farther Completion, than in the Days of St. Peter, on various Accounts too long to insist on here, particularly Children prophesying, whereof no Account in the Pentecost. And again, ^x *We read not that in the Apostles Days the Prophecy of Joel touching Childrens Inspiration to Prophecy, was accomplished.* But I hope Mr. L. don't expect to be the rather believed, for plainly contradicting the Apostle, who was undoubtedly inspired by the Holy Ghost. Mr. L. says the Prophecy of *Joel* warrants the Expectation of Childrens prophesying, because not duly fulfilled without it. The Apostle tells us the miraculous Effusion of the Holy Ghost, at and after the famous Pentecost, mention'd *Acts 2.* was ^y a Completion of *Joel's* Prophecy, And by consequence there being then no Children Prophets, as Mr. L. himself declares, it must here manifestly follow, that Children were not intended in it. The Prophet speaks of

^u *Joel 2. 28, 29.* ^w *Relat. of God's Dealings, p. 7.* ^x *P. 31.*

^y *This is that which was spoken by the Prophet Joel; and it shall come to pass in the last Days. Saith God, I will pour of my Spirit upon all Flesh, &c. Acts 2. 16, 17, 18.*

Sons and Daughters, old Men and ² young having the Spirit poured upon them. But of Childrens prophesying here is not a Word, and therefore no ground in the World to expect it any more now, than under the Jewish Dispensation, had the Apostle said nothing of this Prophecy's being long since fulfilled. But when he has assured us this Prophecy is fulfilled without it, yet to insist upon it, argues those who do so, to have a very different Spirit from that of the Apostle, whom they so manifestly contradict.

Add hereto, in the last Place, their Mimical Gestures, and Antick Behaviour, no way becoming the Gravity of so solemn a Character as they take upon themselves; the ^a Shakings of their Heads; [†] Crawling on the Knees; ^b Quakings and Tremblings; their ^c Whistlings, ^d Drummings, ^e Trumpettings; their ^f Thundrings; their ^g Snuffling; ^h Blowing as with a Horn; ⁱ Panting, and difficulty of Breathing; ^k Sighing and Groaning; ^l Hissing; ^m Smiling; ⁿ Laughing; ^o Pointing with the Finger; ^p Shaking the Hand; ^q Striking; ^r Threshing; as likewise their ^s perpetual Hesitations; Childish Repeti-

² Or rather Men in their full Strength, their chosen Men,

בְּחֹרֵיגֵם; so it is the Original.

^a Warnings, Part 1. p. iv, 80, 86.

[†] Honest Quaker, p. 1. ^b Letter from Birmingham, p. 2.

^c Warnings, Part 1. p. 71, 72, 98, 99.

^d P. 75. Part 2. p. 55, 56, 86, 126.

^e Part 1. p. 73. ^f P. 65.

^g Account of the French Prophets, p. 40.

^h Warnings, Part 1. p. 65, 75, 89.

ⁱ Part 2. p. 66, 115. ^k Part 1. p. 41, 64. Part 2. p. 68.

^l Part 1. p. 63, 64, 91. ^m P. 75.

ⁿ P. 75, 89. Part 2. p. 98.

^o Part 1. p. 91, 95. Part 2. p. 87.

^p Part 1. p. 95, 102. Part 2. p. 69, 80, 85, 87, 179.

^q Part 1. p. 78, 95. ^r P. 77.

^s Account of the French Prophets, p. 10, 40, 41.

tions; unintelligible Stuff; gross Contradictions; manifest Lies; Conjectures turn'd into Predictions; their Howling in their Assemblies like a Dog, and being in all manner of Disorder. Put these things, I say, together, and there needs no more, to prove that their Inspirations are not from God, than that their Doctrines, their Predictions, their Actions, their Parastasies, their Methods of gaining Profelytes are, as I have shewn in many Particulars, thus highly unworthy of the Holy Spirit of God, which delights in nothing that is insincere and false, or but childish and trifling.

I cannot doubt but there are divers very honest and well-meaning Persons amongst these pretended Prophets. And perhaps some of Note amongst them may be meerly deluded, either by their own Enthusiastick Temper, or by the Fallacy of others. But I am sure it is high time for them all to look well about them, and turn to God, and beg his Grace and Direction, and use their own unfeigned Endeavours, in order to a right Information of their Understandings, and a speedy Recovery out of that dangerous Condition wherein they now are. Sir R. B. if my Memory does not greatly fail me, promised in his *Impartial Account*, to quit their Society, if Dr. Emes was not raised, as had been foretold, and as he then expected; tho' every one knows his Expectation has sadly failed him. Mr. L. I am sure * has promised, that if within six Weeks to come, the mighty Power of God did not attest his Denunciations were from him, he would publickly retract his Error. I shall, says he, before all the World acknowledge my Delusion, witness my Hand, this 29th of October, 1707. Which Attestation, blessed be God, we all find was not born to them.

* Letter to Mr. F. M. p. 7.

* Warn. Part 3. p. 8. See also the Way of trying the Prophets, p. 2.

And again, says he, "*Whenever any Facts shall be made out upon them, unworthy of Protestants, and true Subjects of England, none shall more highly resent the same than I.* Now this Charge I persuade my self I have fully made out against them, together with several others that call for their serious Consideration. And I therefore most heartily beseech them, that their subsequent Practices may testify the Sincerity of these Professions, and that they will not persist in the Defence of Predictions manifestly false, Miracles that appear by no means to deserve that Name, Usages and Practices that are not agreeable to the Doctrines of the Gospel, and such a Gift of Tongues as in nothing resembles that which was conferred upon the Apostles at *Jerusalem*. Would but these Two Gentlemen, and some few others come off from this Society, I doubt not but the rest of them would soon dwindle, and come to nothing. And I would entreat them therefore, for God's sake, who is greatly dishonoured by having all their groundless Imaginations father'd upon his Spirit, for their own Souls sake, that are in danger of eternal Ruin by these Courses, for our Religion sake, which never fails to suffer by the false Pretences of its Professors, and for their poor mistaken Followers sake, who may well be presumed to be carried aside by *Their* Authority and Example, to own their Errors, and desist in time, that they may not have a greater measure of Guilt, and the Souls of many others to answer for at the last Day, as well as their own.

No doubt Mr. *Mason* of *Water-Stratford* in *Buckinghamshire*, in the Year 1694, thought himself as fully informed of the Beginning of his *Blessed Mil-*

lenium, ^w which for four Years together he had preached up in several Places, with great Zeal on his part, and no less Applause on his Auditors. “ He believed ^x our Saviour to have appeared to him in a very Beautiful and Glorious manner. “ And was thought by his Admirers, and even by himself, ^y to be the Elijah in the last of Malachy, “ that was to be sent before the Great and Dreadful “ Day, the Forerunner of Christ’s Second Coming, “ as John Baptist was of his First. He had for a “ ^z long time left off giving the Sacrament to “ any, but some select Persons of his own way; “ and at length gave it not at all, because he said “ *Christ was come*. He had left off ^a Praying, because he thought *nothing remained to be prayed for*; and had determined to Preach no more, “ because *they should be all enlightened from above*. “ He blessed God, ^b that he was thought worthy “ to suffer in that *honourable Cause*. Yet he was “ under a Delusion; and of all he had foretold, “ so little came to pass, that ^c in a few Weeks after he died, and then his whole Assembly of “ Expectants, (^d many of whom were come to settle at *Water-Stratford*, as the Place where ^e this “ Glorious Kingdom was to begin, and the Standard to be first set up for a time, ^f till our Saviour should remove it to the *New Jerusalem*, “ ^g and others frequently came and joined themselves with them) the whole Assembly of them, “ I say, were all in a little time dispersed, and “ their mighty Expectations vanished into Air, [just as these Pretenders Expectations concerning Dr. Ennes have done.] “ But till then the Delusion went on successfully, and multitudes flock-

^w Maurice’s impartial Account of John Mason, &c. p. 4.

^x P. 6, 13, 15, 21. ^y P. 7, 10, 19.

^z P. 14. ^a Ibid. ^b P. 23.

^c P. 8. ^d P. 5. ^e P. 4. ^f P. 11. ^g P. 5.

“ ed to him, and were as fond of his Prophecies,
 “ as these Pretenders Followers are of theirs. He
 “^h often thought himself acted by a Divine Im-
 “ pulse. And tho’ he was retired and melanco-
 “ lick, yet beingⁱ esteemed by some at least, a
 “ devout, mortified, humble and charitable Man,
 “ tho’ grown somewhat peevish towards his latter
 “ End, the Esteem of his Personal Qualifications
 “ seems to have recommended his Mistakes, to
 “ such as had before-hand a great Opinion of him,
 “ especially amongst the Dissenters, to whom he
 “ seems to have had a particular Inclination.

And now, would the New Prophets, and their Followers, impartially compare their own Case with this, they would find a very near resemblance between them; and must soon be convinced, that they have nothing to plead for themselves, that will not serve as well for Mr. *Mason*; tho’ there are many things to be charged upon them, that will not lie against him. And then, I am sure, if he was in the wrong, they cannot possibly be in the right. And if the best Defence they can make for Mr. *Mason* is, ^k that he was not *sui compos*, it will not be amiss for these Gentlemen to bethink themselves, whether the same Reflection may not possibly be made upon themselves, by some of those that shall have taken notice, how they bear up against one Disappointment after another, for so long a time together. But I hope they will be so much their own Friends, as to bethink themselves in time, and make good their promised Retraction, and that their Disciples will accompany them in it, as heartily as ever they did in any of their Errors.

^h P. 31.

ⁱ P. 30.

^k Sir R. B.’s *Answer to several Treatises*, p. 54.

I hope I have both fairly and fully answered Mr. *Lacy's* Challenge he several times makes, ¹ to enquire, and prove it, if they are deluded. And I can truly say, I have had no other Aim in what I have written, than to do the best Service I could, to themselves, in detecting their Errors, and to others, in cautioning against them. It now remains on their part, to act as becomes good Christians, laying aside all Prejudice and Partiality, and seeking after Truth, and a right Sense of Scripture, with Zeal and Earnestness, and moreover with as much Indifferency to either side of the Question, as a Traveller does after his Way, which he does not chuse for its Pleasantness, or the Fancy he has for it, but for its Usefulness, to bring him to his Journey's End; or as a sick Man enquires not what Physick will suit best with his Palate, but what is most conducive to the recovery of his Health. And could they once be prevailed with to take this Method, they must needs see how groundless all their Pretences to Prophecy, and a Divine Inspiration are, that they have no Foundation either in Scripture, Reason, or Ecclesiastical Antiquity; and that, on the contrary, there are unanswerable Arguments from all these, as well as from Experience, against them.

¹ *Warnings*, Part 2. p. 95, 177. and Part 3. p. 151.

P O S T S C R I P T.

BEfore I put a full end to my Reader's trouble, I must beg leave to acquaint him with these few following Particulars.

I. When I speak of the true Prophets not prophesying in Ecstasy, p. 483, &c. I would not be thought to mean this of all unusual Transports and Elevations of Mind, all real Ecstacies, but of such Excessive Parecstactical Disorder, as these new Prophets do, or at least did pretend to, (*See Mr. L.'s Relation of God's Dealings, &c. p. 10. Warnings, Part I. Pref. p. 5. and other Places in his Prophetical Warnings. Sir R. B.'s Answer to several Trearises, p. 36. and the Reflections upon this Answer, p. 26.*) For I have my self instanced in some Boys, whom St. Cyprian testifies, (*Epist. 16.*) to have been in Ecstasy. But then he testifies withal, that *they saw, and heard, and spake those things which God designed for the Admonition and Instruction of his Servants.* He has not a Word of their being bereft of their Understanding, or acted as meer Machines, by the over-ruling Spirit, as has been pretended of late, (*See Mr. L. as above, and Sir R. B.'s Answer, p. 45.*) Nor do I find that any of the Prophets ever were so far influenced by any of their Ecstasies, as not to have the Freedom of their Understandings left them, whenever they delivered any sort of Prophecy.

II. Though St. Cyprian's *Puerorum innocens letas* seems to denote young Children, there is no need, nor indeed any reason to imagine that he meant such small Children, such Babes as these Pretenders

ders speak of amongst their Prophets. Such in all probability he would rather have called Infants, as he does upon another occasion, in his Treatise *de Lapsis*, p. 125. *Infantes quoq; Parentum manibus vel impositi, vel attracti*: And so this Instance, the most favourable to our Children-Prophets that I know of in all Antiquity, will yet be of no real use to them; and if this be not, it is impossible any other I have ever met with should.

III. I would just take notice of three other Passages concerning these Pretenders to Prophecy, which I had omitted in their proper Place.

The first is of Mr. Cavalier's, or his Cousin A—t's prophesying upon prior Information. For thus we read in the *Account from the Savoy*, p. 44, 45. One C—r said, that his Cousin A—t had had a fine Inspiration, of which the Substance was: Know, my Child, that this Day there is a Combination to exclude you from the Communion; but they shall be themselves excommunicated from my Grace. Upon which the Company astonished, cry'd out, Can they have indeed a Design to excommunicate them? The Person from whom we have this Fact, said, I do not believe it. Yes, yes, reply'd C—r, I WAS TOLD OF IT SOME TIME AGOE. 'Tis easy to prophesy at this Rate, says our Witness.

The next is what the honest Quaker tells us, p. 4. of E. Gray, who began to be in a more extraordinary Fit than he had yet seen her; and for half an hour, or better, she was very violent in beating her hands together, getting out of the Chair, and sitting down, then falling with her knees hard against the Floor, and striking her hands hard against the Cushion of the Chair, and some few times against the Chair-Frame; but then he observed [that she took care of her self, and acted not like one in a real Fit, and who could not help hurting her self; for when she struck the Wood] 'twas not with such Violence or Force, and likewise

likewise with her open hand; whereas before and after (on the Cushion) it was with hands doubled or clinched.

The last is of their Behaviour in Baldwin's Gardens, March the 24th 170². At which time the Reflector acquaints us, that *they* prayed and fasted to procure the Effusions of Divine Vengeance on the People of this Town, which an Inspiration on Anna Maria King had assured them should fall, March the 25th. (Reflections, p. 42.) Which is such an egregious Piece of Malice and Inhumanity, as must have a very wicked Spirit for the Author of it. *Jeremiah's* Eyes ran down with Tears, and he lamented and mourned very bitterly for the Miseries he foresaw coming upon his People; as his whole Book of *Lamentation* abundantly testifies. *Daniel* fasted and prayed in Sackcloth and Ashes, for the seventy Years that were to be accomplished in the Desolation of *Jerusalem*, to try if Almighty God would be entreated to withhold his threatened Vengeance, *Dan.* 9. 3, &c. And our Blessed Saviour wept over *Jerusalem*, bemoaning the dreadful Calamities that hung over, and would shortly befall its Inhabitants for their rejecting of his Gospel, and their Barbarity to himself. *When he was come near, he beheld the City, and wept over it, saying, If thou hadst known, even thou, at least in this thy day, the things which belong unto thy Peace; but now they are hid from thine Eyes. S. Luk.* ix. 41, 42. And again, *O Jerusalem, Jerusalem, thou that killest the Prophets, and stonest them that are sent unto thee, how often would I have gathered thy Children together, even as a Hen gathereth her Chickens under her Wings, and ye would not. 1 Mat.* xxiii. 37. But these People to demonstrate themselves of an opposite Spirit, fast and pray, and humble themselves, for the pulling down heavy Judgments, and even utter Destruction, upon their City and People; whom

whom they would desire to have ruined to all Intents and Purposes, rather than their own vain imaginary Predictions should not be fulfilled.

IV. If I have not given so full an Account of these Prophets, as I had intended, I hope I may be pardoned, when I shall have inform'd the Reader, that some of their Books are not to be had upon any Terms; such as Sir R.B's *Impartial Account of the Prophets*, which I once had the sight of, but not since long before I had any Thoughts of making use of it; his *Remarks on the Caveat*, &c. which I could not meet with, though diligent Enquiry was made after them, the Publisher having none of them in his Possession: Which I take to be occasioned by an Inspiration Mr. L. says he had, to have them bought up and distributed in the Country. This Direction it is likely they have put in Execution; so that I could not trace them so far as I would otherwise; though, in truth, such a Dispersion of their Writings makes them the more needful to be thoroughly enquired into.

V. I shall only add, that having had occasion to make frequent use of a Paper entituled, *Predictions concerning the raising the dead Body of Mr. Thomas Emes, &c.* lent me by my very worthy Friend, the Reverend Dr. *Hickes*, the Impression of which being seized, and perhaps scarce another to be met with, I here get it reprinted, that all the World may see what delicate Prophets these are, that could so confidently publish what they had no warrant for, and can so obstinately persist in their Pretences, when thus demonstratively confuted, even out of their own Mouths.

PRE-

PREDICTIONS concerning the raising
the dead Body of Mr. Thomas Emes, P. I.
*commonly call'd Doctor Emes, late of Old-street-
 square, in the Parish of St. Giles, by Cripplegate,
 London: Who on or about the 4th Day of
 December, 1707. was taken with a most vio-
 lent Head-ack, or Megrin; and died on the
 22d Day of December, 1707. and was buried
 on the 25th Day of the same Month, being
 Christmas-Day, in the Burying-Place, in Bun-
 hill-Fields, near Moor-Fields.*

Friday, Decemb. 5. 1707. Spoken to Dr. Emes, at
*his own House, in his Illness, by J. L. under the
 Operation of the Spirit. K. N.*

FE A R not. Whatever I do for thy Trial, thou
 art in safe Hands: For if I command thy Life
 away, yet I will restore it again. Here, even in
 this House, thou shalt return to thy Dwelling a-
 gain. Be not discouraged: I do not command it
 away: But thou shalt know in thy self my Will,
 whatever it be, touching thee. None of my Pro-
 mises shall fail; for thou hast served me faithfully,
 and I will requite thee. Pray unto me, whatever
 is the Case; and my Answer shall be granted thee,
 no Case excepted. And thou and thine shall praise
 me for what you both shall see: [*Here he pointed to
 Mrs. Emes.*] The more of Trial, the more of my
 Glory shall shine forth. If I have given thee an
 Answer, it is in part of the rest, that I am bound
 to answer: Rest therefore thy Soul on my Word,
 L I in

in Peace. Thou shalt find my Rest sweet. Set
your Hands all to this. *J. L. J. D. B. P. J. N.*
J. K.

Saturday, Decemb. 6. *Spoken to him at the same
Place, by J. P. under the Operation of the Spi-
rit. N.*

And they brought to *Peter* her Garments, and
the costly Works which she had made : And he
kneel'd down upon them, praying ; and she arose :
And they all glorified me. Yes, I was glorified
therein. And I will be glorified in thee, whether
thou livest or diest : I mean, if thou remainest as
thou art, or diest, the Glory which shall redound
to me will be equal. For if thou diest, I will raise
thee ; or if thou remainest, for some time, as thou
art, I will restore thee. Yes, I can, when thou art
with all thy Friends out of Hopes ; I say, I can
then appear : And such is the Time, in which I
have always appeared : Therefore be thou not
anxious after the Knowledge of that which I see not
meet yet to make known unto thee. Because I tell
thee, I will try thee ; I will exercise thy Faith and
Patience yet more, and more, and more. I tell
thee, I will. Take heed. Thy Estate is not yet
so bad, as that of my Servant *Job*, who was strip-
ped of all that he had in this World, Friends and
all ; not one ; no, not a Wife : For thou knowest,
instead of being a Wife to him, she was an Instru-
ment for the Devil. Reproached and accounted a
great Sinner by those his Friends, from whom he
expected Comfort. His Bodily Afflictions were
greater than thine ever yet were. Miserable was
his Condition, in the highest Sense ; yet his Mind
was upright before me. He trusted in me ; and in
Time he reap'd the Fruits of his Faith and Patience.
Do thou therefore consider of his Case : It may af-
ford

ford thee Comfort. It shall, if rightly consider'd by thee. I am the Lord ; that God which giveth and taketh away. Of that thou shouldst have considered more, when thou didst resign thy self up to me. Thou hast given thy self to me ; therefore I will dispose of thee, as I think good. If it be my Will, therefore, that thou shouldst be visited, as never Man yet was, oughtest thou to think much? But I tell thee, as thou art mine, I will use thee as such. And nothing shall come unto thee, but the Product thereof shall bring Glory to thy God : Not only thee, but all those that have given themselves to me. But if I set thee before them as an Example ; what is that to thee? It is not, that they are more favoured by me than thou art. No : The Reason of all Things thou shalt know, in a little Time. In the hearing thereof thy Soul will rejoice : And great will be its Cause. P. 2.

Therefore be thou still, I say. Let thy Mind be fixed upon thy God, who will never, never leave thee : No ; but will fulfil all those Promises he has made unto thee. Therefore be not thou cast down ; but trust in him, that never yet fail'd any that so did.

Tuesday, Decemb 23. Being the Day after the Death of Dr. Emes. Spoken by A. M. K. a Child of twelve Tears old, in a Publick Assembly, under the Operation of the Spirit. J. N.

O my People ! You think not what it is I am preparing for you ; nor you are not able to think : You are not able to think what I am bringing to pass. Here are some, in this Place, doubtful whether all will come to pass as my Servants have spoken, because of one Thing : But do you think that Death can hinder? For, tho' my Servant dies, have not I said, I will raise the Dead, by the Hand of my Servant? And think you not I am able to per-

orm my Word? But perhaps you think my Servants were in an Errour, when they spoke that. But, I assure you, they were not: Therefore judge you no more of what I have spoken by my Servants: For that, as you think impossible, shall come to pass. But let me alone; I will work my Will. It is Presumption in you to meddle in my Matters. Not only this Thing, but more marvellous Things than this shall come to pass in a little Time. I will bring to pass such as never have been yet. Yes, yes, your Eyes shall see it.

Thursday, Decemb. 25. *Upon which Day Dr. Emes was buried. Spoken by J. P. in a Publick Assembly, under the Operation of the Spirit. J. N. P.*

Remember this Day, my Children; I say, remember this Day. It is known vulgarly to all: For, I say, from this Day will I be glorified in all that believe. This Day shall be a Day of Joy to you, my Children; of exceeding Joy unto all that trust in me. Remember it therefore. For know, from this Day, I will make an extraordinary Beginning. The wonderful Works of your God shall be seen visibly, if you will but behold. And, I say, who so seeth not is worse than blind naturally. This Day shall be unto you as the Beginning of Days. And as Days were before Months; so the first Day of the next Month shall be to you, the Beginning of Months. For I will work, and nothing shall let. My Word shall run and be glorified. My Power shall be made known. The Strength of my Arm shall be felt. The Power of the Almighty shall cause such Eccho's in this City, as that the City shall tremble. Blessed are they that hear. It is on them I will set my Mark; that, when the destroying Angel cometh, they may be preserved. But who so will not hear, in their Bow-
els

els shall the Sword of my Indignation be sheathed. It shall gore in their Hearts. It shall be made drunk with their Blood. This, this, this is the great and notable Day of the Lord: Terrible to the Wicked; but Cause of exceeding Joy to those that obey. Therefore, my obedient ones, ye who have heard my Voice, and say, we know it is the Voice of God, I am now about to answer your Prayers. I'll give now undeniable Proof, that this is my Word: That these distracted Motions are caused by the Operation of my Spirit, in my Children. The restoring of the Blind, the healing of the Sick, the raising of the Dead, shall decide it, after some Months being interred. Will not this do? Take heed you that say, I shall believe, when I see this. Take heed, I say, you simple ones: For if Faith, as thou confessest, be the Gift of God; thou knowest not whether I will give Faith then, No, no, I will not gratify the Humours of my Worms, in whose Destruction I can be glorified; and I will, if you will not accept of this Act of Grace, which is now proclaimed by the Mouths of my Servants. Therefore it is now that I call unto you. Come, come, come; come, all you that would escape approaching Judgments, and enter into this Ark, which I have prepared for your Safety. Yes, I will raise the Dead. By the same Power, that I have raised *Jesus*, will I raise that Body now asleep; more fat, and more fair, than ever he has been: It shall not be known by his Friends, that he hath fasted so many Months. So fat, so lovely shall he appear, that the Beholders shall fall in Love with him. Yes, the same Body, the same Face, tho' more lovely. For the Beams of my Glory shall overshadow that Earthly Tabernacle; so as that it shall be made glorious thereby. Come, my Children, I know you wait. [*Here he fell back in his Chair, and cried out*] Oh Lord! What?

Would you that I say unto you? *By another, Lord.*
[He then fell backward to the Ground, and lay silent.]

Thereupon, A. M. K. *aforesaid*, was instantly seized, and under the Operation of the Spirit, said;

Rejoice greatly, O my Children, and be exceeding glad: For great is your Reward in Heaven. And be you assured, that all that I have spoken by my Servant at this Time, and all other Times, shall come to pass. And if you knew me, you would believe me. By the Hand of my Servant *Lacy*, will I raise the Body of my Servant, that is now dead. But you must wait my Time: For I am not at your Wills; neither will I be. He, I say, he shall arise and fulfil his Testimony. Did I ever speak in vain? No, I assure you, I never did, nor I never will. You have sufficient Proof already, That this is the Power of God. But there is none can deny this, that I am going to bring to pass. If he be dead and rotten, yet I will raise him, as I have spoken, to fulfil his Testimony. There is not one Tittle of what I have spoken shall pass away. I will do greater Things than these, Yes, I will do such Things as never yet have been.

The same Day J. P. spoke again, under Inspiration, in the same Place.

O thou timorous Child! Why prayest thou thus unto me? Thinkest thou, that I will be entreated by thee, to speak that, by others, which I purpose to speak by thee? I tell thee, I will not. Therefore let me no more be solicited upon such Occasions. I will excuse thee for this Time. But know, from thy Mouth, shall be declared the positive Day in which my Servant shall be raised from the Dead,

I only give thee Time to consider of the Weakness of thy Prayer. I have heard it ; but, I assure thee, I approve not of it. O Lord! [*Here he fell into most violent Agitations,*] Who can bear it? Thou shalt, and a thousand Times more. *If thou wilt enable me, Lord.* Thy Brethren may judge of the Weakness of thy Prayer, by that Childish Expression. Did I ever require any Thing, at any Time, to be done, by any of my Servants, but they were assisted by me, in the Performance of it? True, Lord; *I know thou never didst.* Well; learn then to know my Will, and do it. For know, thou shalt not only declare the Days in which I will work Miracles; but thou shalt likewise with a loud Voice, in this City, declare the positive Day, in which my Judgments shall descend from Heaven. Thou shalt tell the Day, in which Fire and Brimstone shall descend, to the consuming to Ashes famous Buildings in this City. Be thou still therefore, and know that I am God: and that it is I that speak in thee, and not thou thy self.

Friday, Decemb. 26. 1707. Spoken by J. P. N.

Wilt thou declare willingly, with an open Mouth, those Words which I speak unto thee? *Do thou rule, O Lord, over all my Faculties. My Will is, that thine may be done. Take Possession of it, Lord, and it shall be so.* But I will, that thou resist not. Lord, remember my Weakness; thou knowest that I am but Dust. What! Wilt thou still interrogate? Have I not told thee, I will be Strength in thy Weakness, Wisdom in thy Folly; and that I will always assist thee, as the Matter requires? Take heed, lest I strike thee dumb: Which I will, if thou cease not. *Thy Will be done, Lord, Lord; Lord, thy Will be done. I must speak yet unto thee, Lord. Spare me Lord; send me not, for I cannot bear.*

[Here he was thrown down backward, and lay so on the Floor for some Time; after which he rose again; and in a most lamentable Tone he cried] O the Burden of the Lord! The Burden of the Lord! Do thou remember my Child, how much the Excuse of my Servant Moses tended to his Loss. Was it not Weakness in him to say unto me, thou knowest I am a Man of a stammering Tongue; and at the same Time, I would have given him the Tongue of the Learned? He lost the Honour of being a famous Orator, by his excusing himself. Therefore, say not I am weak; but the contrary, in the Lord am I strong: His Power inhabits in my Heart. And that shall appear in all that trust in me. Therefore, when I command thee, be thou willing; saying on thine Arm will I trust. What sayest thou now, my Child? Art thou willing? Say no more, thy Will be done, Lord; and then frame Excuses for thy self. *I will not excuse my self, Lord: Only this, only this; Spare me yet a little while. If I should, it will be always yet a little while. No, Lord, no; but I entreat thee now.* Thou sayest well in every Thing; but when it comes to the Trial, thou startest back. I will be entreated by thee. Thou art spared. But let the Time be spent in considering the Nature of the Message: For thou canst not say, thou art ignorant of it. *I am not Lord.* And in thy continual Prayers, see thou ask for Strength; and I will give it thee.

P. 4. Saturday, Decemb. 27. Spoken by J. P.
B. F. J. N. P.

Behold, I come, I come, I come. My Children, see to your selves therefore. For, I say, the Righteous shall scarcely be saved: Be ye not careful therefore what the State of the Wicked shall be: No, no; look unto your selves. Rejoice in your God

God therefore you, whom I have called. And know of a Truth, that so long as you obey my Voice, which speaketh through you, you are safe. But I tell you, there are some amongst you which obeyeth not that Voice. Thou, thou, Wretch, by whom I speak, disobey'st. [*Here he was thrown all along upon the Floor.*] Slay me, Lord, and thou shalt be just. I will not; yet will I be just. Thou complaine'st of the Burden of the Lord. I will speak, Lord, I cannot bear it, tho' the unworthiest of all, yet be merciful, O Lord God. Rise thou. [*Here J. C. was seized with most violent Agitations.*] I tell thee, the Burden thou complaine'st of, shall be five Times heavier. *Thy Will be done, Lord, Thou art strong: On thy Arm will I lean.* Thou audacious Presumer! Wilt thou rebel against me, and say, Lord, on thy Arm will I trust! *Thou knowest my Heart, O Lord.* I do; and will burst in Pieces that Heart: I will consume thy Bones: The Flames of my Wrath shall consume thee, if thou wilt not give Vent to that within thee. *Thy Will be done, Lord. I cannot.* I told thee how it would be. Did'st thou not say, it should not be so? *Lord, I did not think thou would'st have called so soon.* Thou foolish Child, Must the Wicked say so, when I appear? *Be entreated, O Lord God, to speak by another Mouth; but if not, thou must spare me yet.* I will speak by thee; and I will spare thee, that thy Burden may be encreased five Times. Thou shalt be an Example to the rest, for thou art not alone. Thou Fool! Can Death ease thee? No, no. Art thou fit to die? Consider (Thou dost not know) what it is to die. *Lord, I am ignorant of every Thing. Thou hast called me; but I am as a Bullock unaccustomed to the Yoke.* But I will accustom thee to it. I know what thou art. *Unworthy I!* Yes, thou art unworthy: And the Language of thy Actions is this, I will be more unworthy. [*Here J. C. was again seized; and*

with

with a naked Knife in his Hand, and his Arm lifted up, he said] Je viendrai rassasier ma Colere, sur ceux, qui anoncent ma Parole. Je ne veux point des Serveteurs rebelles à mes Commandements, dans ma Maison. But, I say, that stiff Neck of thine shall be broken; so that thou shalt couch to the Burden of the Lord, and not cry out of its being heavy. *Thou only canst do it, O Lord: Do it soon.*

*The same Day. Part of a Blessing pronounced to J. P.
B. D. F. V.*

J'ai grandes choses à faire par toi, mon Enfant. Dans peu de Jours, Je viendrai te donner plein Accomplissement des Promesses, que je t'ai faites. Et je viendrai t'ouvrir ta Bouche, pour declarer Journée de Paix, de Joye, de Consolation, à mes Enfans: Et le Jour positif sera déclaré, par ta Bouche, de la Resurrection de mon Serviteur, qui a été enseveli. J'ouvrirai ta Bouche, par force: Et je te dis, tu declareras le Jour, le Jour terrible, le Jour effroyable, dans lequel le Ciel doit pleuvoir Feu & Souffre, Feu & Souffre, Feu & Souffre. J'accomplis, tous les Jours, ma Vertu, en tes Infirmittez. J'ay Compassion de tes Foibleesses. Pren garde, je te dis, à faire ma Volonté, & ne te rendre pas desobeissant à ton Createur. Car, autrement, Je t'exterminerai. Mon Enfant, pren Courage. Tu verras l'Accomplissement des choses predites par ta Bouche. Sois assuré, fois assuré, qu'une seule Parole n'en est sortie, de par moi; que mon Saint Esprit n'ait mise dans ta Bouche.

In English thus.

My Child, I have great Things to do by thee. I shall come in a few Days to give thee a full Accomplishment of the Promises that I have made unto thee. And I shall come to open thy Mouth, to
declare

declare a Day of Peace, of Joy, and of Consolation to my Children. And the positive Day shall be declared by thy Mouth, of the Resurrection of my Servant, who has been buried. I will open thy Mouth by Force: And I tell thee, thou shalt declare the Day, the terrible Day, the frightful Day, in which the Heavens shall rain Fire and Brimstone, Fire and Brimstone, Fire and Brimstone. I accomplish every Day my Strength in thy Infirmities. I have Compassion of thy Weaknesses. Take Care, I tell thee, to do my Will, and be not disobedient to thy Creator; for otherwise I will root thee out. My Child, take Courage, thou shalt see the fulfilling of the things foretold by thy Mouth, rest assured of it. Be assured, that not one Word of them has been uttered, but from me, and which my Holy Spirit did put into thy Mouth. P. 5.

Sunday, Decemb. 28. J. P. *was for a long time under violent Agitations; and labour'd greatly, with great Struglings, in his Throat, and Organs of Speech, almost as if he were choaking, and utter'd some inarticulate Sounds.*

Did you understand, my Children? You shall know more perfectly in a short time. The Words were pronounced, even the Day in which my Servant *Emes* shall rise. Take this as a Mark. [*Here the Spirit instantly threw him upon the Floor, where he lay stretched out as dead, without Motion or Breathing. After some time there came a trembling Motion into every Part of him at once; his Feet, Legs, Hands, Arms and Shoulders; after which there appeared some Breathing, which grew still louder and stronger in him. After he had been in that manner for some time, he said;*] The Operation of my Spirit upon his Body, shall cause the Earth over him to be loosened. You shall not break the Ground;

Ground; no, he shall rise without: In this Form. [*Here he raised up his Head, and his Body forward into a sitting Posture.*] By thy Mouth will I command. [*This be directed to J. L. who sat by him.*] And thou shalt raise him. [*He then stretched out his Hand, and took hold of J. L's Hand, and there-upon stood up upon his Feet.*]

At the same time A. W. having been some time under Agitations, spoke, and said.

And, my Children, many more miraculous Things will I do. I will leave all without Excuse. They shall have no Excuse, when that Day comes, that I shall call them: For I will strive yet with them. I will warm them yet a little longer. And miraculous Things shall be seen in a little Time: The Eyes of all shall see. They shall behold the Power of their Lord. Then will I touch their Hearts, with a small Matter of my Power. I will set them on considering of what State that they are in. I will let them see the Darkneſs that they have lived, and have had their abode in: And thoſe that ſo obſtinately reſiſted me, then will I make them to feel my heavy Hand. For in a few Days my Judgments ſhall come. I have begun my Work, and I will certainly go through. Therefore O Heavens rejoice. And the Earth ſhall tremble. For, as I have declared, that I am come to bring down the ſtrong Tabernacles of the Wicked; I will not ſuffer them to ſtand any longer. Therefore, O ye People, hear the Voice of your Lord, and be ye exhorted to Repentance. For if you do not a miſerable State will ye be in. For, behold your Lord comes to call all to Repentance; to call all out of this World. And thoſe that will by their obſtinate insolent Spirit, reſiſt him; thoſe he will cut down with the Sword of his Mouth, he will flay

slay them, so that they shall fall and never rise again. And then behold that great and notable Day of your Lord cometh; when he comes in great Majesty; when he comes to reign in his Glory. O consider ye, and be wise; and be ye prepared. Get the Wedding-Garments on. For behold the Bridegroom comes, and I will send you forth to meet him. Therefore prepare ye. Get you your Lamps trimmed, and be ye in all readiness, so that you may enter in with him.

Sunday Decemb. 25. *as J. P. and J. C. were passing accidentally by the Place where Dr. Emes was buried, J. P. was seized with the Spirit, and then said.*

Thou, my Servant, who lies interr'd in this Place, shall in a few Natural Months arise. My Child, thy Tongue shall declare the positive Day: Be thou obedient, and I will exceedingly reward thee: But if thou resistest, I will break thy Neck with a Rod of Iron. Consider therefore, and be wise.

December 29. *J. C. under the Operation of the Spirit, in an Assembly, spoke as followeth.*

Mes enfans, dans peu de Mois naturels, vous verrez operer plus grands Miracles que celui, que moi même j'ai operé dans Lazare. Lorsque je ressuscitai Lazare, il n'y avoit que quatre Jours, qu'il étoit dans le Tombeau. Je commandai que la Pierre fust ôtée, de dessus le Sepulchre. Mais vous devez voir, & les Habitans de cette Ville, ressusciter, dans peu de Mois naturels, mon fidele Serviteur, qui a été enseveli, en la presence des hommes. Mes enfans, il sortira du Tombeau, sans que la terre, qui est sur sa tête, soit ôtée, & il
p. 6.
 viendra,

viendra, en la presence des hommes, & deliera le Sureau, dans lequel il est envelopé. Ce ne fera point en secret, mais en public. Je vous demande, à vous tous, si vous croyez que je suis assez puissant. Répondez moi, si vous n'avez aucun murmure dans vous cœurs. Répondez avec sincérité. Je suis l'Invincible, le Grand Jehova, qui vous parle en ce moment ; le Tout Puissant ; le Roi du Ciel, & de la Terre. [*Quelqu'un de la compagnie dit, Seigneur Je croy qu'il t'est plus facile de le ressusciter, si il y a des differences des degrez dans ton pouvoir ; qu'il n'e-toit facile, soit de creer les hommes, soit de continuer de les produire, par la voye ordinaire.*] Ta foi est grande, je te dis ; mais tous ceux qui entendent ma voix, ne l'ont pas en si grande abondance. Faites leur entendre ces choses, & qu'ils me répondent en leur langue. [*Here J. P. answer'd, Lord, I believe thou canst and wilt.*] My Child, thou knowest the Time, and I will make thee declare it in a few Days. [*Then J. C. continued.*] Ceux qui me crieront, Roy du Ciel & de la Terre, tout Puissance est en ta main ; tu peux toutes choses, nous n'en faisons nul doute ; ils le verront en verité. Je vous proteste avec serment, que si vous me répondez avec sincérité, vous yeux verront ces choses.

In English thus.

My Children, in a few Natural Months, you shall see greater Miracles wrought, than I my self wrought upon *Lazarus*. When I raised *Lazarus*, he had been but Four Days in his Grave. I commanded that the Stone that lay upon it should be taken away : But you, and the Inhabitants of this City, shall, in a few Natural Months, see my faithful Servant, who has been buried, raised in the presence of Men : My Children, he shall come out of his Grave, without the Earth being taken away

away that lies upon him. He shall come forth, in the presence of Men, and he shall untie his Shroud, in which he is now wrap'd. This shall not be in secret, no, but in publick. I do ask of you all, if if you do believe that I am able to do this. Answer me, if you have no murmurings in your Hearts. Answer sincerely. I am the Invincible, the Great *Jehovah*, who speak to you at this time; the Almighty; the King of Heaven and Earth. [*Then one in the Company answered, Lord I believe that it is more easie to thee to raise him, (if there are Differences in the Degrees of thy Power) than it was either to create Man at the first, or to go on to produce them by the ordinary way.*] Thy Faith is great, I say unto thee; but all those who hear my Voice, have it not in so great measure. Cause them to understand these things, that they may give their Answer in their own Tongue. [*The aforesaid Discourse being then read in English, J. P. answer'd, Lord, I believe thou canst and wilt.*] My Child, thou knowest the Time. and I will make thee to declare it in a few Days. [*Then J. C. continued.*] Those who will cry to me, Thou King of Heaven and Earth, all Might is in thy Hand; thou canst do all things, we make no doubt of it, they shall see it in truth. I do protest to you with an Oath, that if you answer me with Sincerity, your Eyes shall see these things.

[*Then J. P. continued.*]

My Child, thou knowest the Time, and I will make thee declare it in a short time. Pray for me, my Brethren and Sisters, that I may discharge my Duty faithfully. O pray for me! Consider, if it were your own Case. Lord, by some other Mouth, any, any, save mine. But thy Will, O Lord. It shall appear to all it is my Will, and not thine, thou disobedient

ent one. All I now command of thee, is, that thou be passive in every thing. *I promise to thee, O thou Great and Mighty Being, that I will be nothing in it.* But wilt thou not resist? *Lord, I will not. Strike me dead if I do.* None of thy Brethren are sensible how much thou hast suffered by thy Disobedience. (*Thou knowest the Sincerity of my Heart, Lord.*) Thou shalt endure more, because of it. *Thy Will be done, O Lord.* It shall be done in spite of thee. Neither Devils or Men can alter my Purpose: But remember this, I command thee, that thou be passive. *I will*

** During the time of of the foregoing Discourse, J. C. who sate by him, being seized with the Spirit, fell down at his Feet, and lay as dead.*

*Lord. * Thou shalt not, as thou hast said, say, Lord, I did not think thou wouldst call so soon; for I have given thee time, and thou knowest how much I have allowed thee; therefore prepare thy self by Prayer. O my Brethren, pray for me,* With as little trouble will I command him, who is dead indeed, by the Mouth of him whom I have appointed, as I do him, who is but a Sign. [*Here he took hold of J. C. by the Hand, who instantly leap'd up from the Ground where he lay, and stood on his Feet.*] Shall not my Glory then appear? Will not that stop the Mouths of those who have already exalted themselves above my Appearance in my Children? I say therefore, observe it; those Mouths which have declared unto others that they ought not to believe, in that Day shall my Judgments immediately descend upon them. 'Tis not their

P. 7. being Ministers of the Gospel shall prevent my Judgments reaching them, no, no; sore and heavy shall they be, upon the Heads of those Blasphemers of my Name, those Despisers of my Appearance, those Rejecters of my Voice; that will not enter the Kingdom themselves, but as Assistants
to

to the Devil, work with all their Might, to prevent others. Wo, Wo, Wo be unto such. I say *Sodom* and *Gomorrha* shall appear, to the aggravation of their Misery; for if those mighty Works had been done in *Sodom*, as have been done in *London*, under this Dispensation, they would have repented: Less Miracles than that of raising the Dead, would have been sufficient to have turned them unto me. Therefore the Sinners of *Sodom* shall aggravate their Punishment. It shall be manifest that the raising of this Body, by my Command, out of the Mouth of my Servant, shall be a greater Miracle than that of your Lord, when he raised *Lazarus*. For I say unto you, that *Lazarus* lay but Four Days. But my Servant shall lie much longer in his Grave: Yes, I say, more Months than he lay Days. Must it not then be the Power of the Eternal God? What say ye then, O ye People? Can any thing short of an Invincible Power, put Life into that which shall be corrupted, nay rotten? Those that have beheld my Servant, before interr'd shall judge whether or no his Flesh must not be consumed; yet shall he rise fat and lovely, fair indeed, so that he shall captivate the Affections of the Beholders. Blessed are ye that believe. O believe this, my Children, it shall be accounted to you for Righteousness. Your Faith shall be rewarded. Happy will they be, who when they see, will be convinced it is my Power. But happy, happy, happy, yea indeed eternally happy shall they be who believe now. Therefore suffer not the least Doubt concerning this Matter, to arise in your Hearts, lest you, by your Doubts, be wholly bereft of Faith. And, if so, the beholding of him, after risen, will not beget Faith in you. Look to your selves therefore. Many are harden'd by his Death. They have suffer'd themselves to be captivated by the Devil. Shall they believe in his

M m Resurrection?

Resurrection? I tell you no. They shall behold that glorious Body, and not know it is He. Yet Thousands, and Ten thousands shall believe thereby. For, as I declar'd to him, before his Death, that him had I qualified for a Minister extraordinary; it was for this; it was for this; tho' I did not make him sensible of it. That was his Burden. But as he departed in the Belief of his Resurrection miraculously; as a Reward of his Faith shall he behold himself alive, in that Room where he departed. And many that there saw him dead, shall likewise there see him alive. They that then were afraid to touch him, shall run to embrace him, saying, Thou Servant of the Living God, thou Perfecter of his Glory, we bless our God, because of Thee. For Thee, indeed, has he made an Instrument to convert more Souls, than the Traders of my Word have, in many Ages past. Will not this be a strange Work, my Children? How strange soever it may seem, I say, dead Men shall turn Souls to the Living God. O believe this, I command you; and as you would enter the Kingdom. Look unto *Abraham*, my Children, who was commanded to offer up his only Son *Isaac*, from whose Loins was to come a numberless Seed. But did that Command shake *Abraham's* Faith? I tell you no; therefore was it accounted to him for Righteousness. Look to your selves; I am the same God. And I tell you, *Abraham* trusted in me, knowing I was Omnipotent. Therefore he believed that I could restore *Isaac* to Life again. If he had been slain, it was equal to me. But know this, I did it only for the Trial of his Faith, which was great; therefore was this Seed blessed, because of that. Therefore now ye, as the Seed of *Abraham*, demonstrate it by your Faith to my Promises, for they are certain, yes. Can the Eternal Being cease to be? I tell you no; there is the same possibility

possibility for one as the other. Therefore, I say, not one Tittle of what I have declar'd, by this Mouth, shall fail. I the Eternal God have said it.

At the same Time and Place, D. F. under the Operation of the Spirit, spoke, and said.

Faudra-t-il que je viene à tout moment pour vous reprendre, & pour vous manifester le Chemin de Vérité? N'avez vous pas mes Ecritures? Pour quoi les negligez vous? Pour quoi ne les lisez vous pas, d'un bout à l'autre? Je vous assure que vous y trouverez des Exemples des choses grandes, qui sont arrivées parmi vous. Et parce qu'aujourd'hui je vous fais de grandes Promesses, que je viendrai resusciter les morts, vous entrez dans des murmures; comme si je n'avois pas la même puissance, qu'autrefois, quand j'ay ressuscité Lazare, & plusieurs autres. Je suis le même en vérité. Sachez que le ciel & la terre passera, mais ma parole ne passera point. En vérité, c'est moi qui ai parlé, en ce jour, par la bouche de mes serviteurs. Et vous verrez, si vous m'êtes fideles, les grandes choses, qui ont été prédites: vous les verrez, dans leur accomplissement.

In English thus.

P. 8.

Must I be coming every moment to reprove you, and to manifest to you the Way of Truth? Have you not my Scriptures? Why do you neglect them? Why do you not read them, from one end to the other? I do assure you, you will there find Examples of the great things that are come to pass among you. And now, because at this Day I make you great Promises, that I will raise the Dead, you are ready to murmur, as if I had not the same Power now as formerly, when I raised *Lazarus*, and ma-

ny others. I am the same indeed. Know that Heaven and Earth shall pass away, but my Word shall not pass. In truth, it is I, who have spoken in those Days, by the Mouths of my Servants: And you shall see, if you be faithful to me, the great things which have been foretold, you shall see them fulfill'd.

Thursday, January 1. 1707. *Spoken in the Presence of a great Assembly, by J. P. under the Operation of the Spirit.* Extract. B. F. J. N. P. Cr.

I have that to declare, by this Mouth, see that it startle you not; see that you believe it. I have given you pardon; let not your Disbelief bring all that Score, which I have cast behind my Back, in view. I say who so questions my Power shall not be remitted. See to it. [*Here he fell into violent Agitations, and labour'd extremely in his Throat, as if he were choaking; and utter'd several inarticulate Sounds.*] Know ye the Day in which my Servant was interred? Five Months from that Day. The Twenty fifth Day of *May*, you shall behold him rise again. One Month above the number of Days that *Lazarus* was in his Grave. The very Hour he was put in the Earth shall he arise. Know ye the Day, my Children? [*Yes.*] Well. The Twenty fifth Day of *May*. Right. I say ye shall see him rise that's now dead. For thy part, by whom I speak, thou shalt not laugh until thou beholdest him. No, thou shalt not smile, I say, because of thy Unwillingness to declare. Thy Joy shall be abated. Fear not, thy Peace shall be multiplied. O ye that have heard the Day declar'd, in which I will, by thee, [*Here he laid his Hand upon J. L.'s Shoulders.*] raise him, who shall be rotten: Behold him by whom I speak; if you see any Sign of Joy fixed on his Visage, say then the
Words

Words were not the Lord's. Let this, my Child, be a sure Sign unto thy self.

I love thee, therefore it is that I pronounce no greater Judgment. For know, more have I to say by thee e'er that is accomplished, else shouldst thou be struck dumb. [*Here he spoke to J. L.*] Fear thou not, my Child, I say, Thou shalt appear upon the Five and twentieth of *May* next, in that Ground where my Servant lieth. Wait thou there, with others of my Children, from Twelve at Noon, until Six in the Evening. I will surround you. An Angelick Host shall guard thee, with thy Companions. No hurt shall come unto thee, nor any of mine. Yet shall they see those who come, thinking to believe by seeing, be consumed before thee.

Provide no Cloathing for my Servant, for he shall rise pure and innocent. Therefore no Shame shall attend him. Neither shall it be esteem'd Indecency, for him to walk naked unto his Habitation. Remember, remember the Day, the Time, observe it, from Twelve 'till Six. But e'er that, my Glory shall appear. I will, before that Day, make it manifest, that I am God. O many with you shall acknowledge the same. But others will compare you, my Children, unto the Magicians of *Egypt*, who by their Arts wrought Wonders, to the astonishing of the People. But that will stop all Mouths. For know, the Power of the Devil never extended so far as to raise the Dead; which I will, by my Servant do; and (when raised) many will be his Persecutors. But he nor you shall have no need to fear. Believe this, my Children. Do you believe it? [*It was answered Yes.*] My Children, I know you do. But pray that your Faith may not fail. Many, at his appearing, will deny my Appearance. Look to your selves, I say, some in this Room will deny that it was the Appearance of God:

God: Therefore look to your selves. That you all may be watchful, is the reason that I nominate none.

At the same Time and Place, J. L. under the Operation of the Spirit, said.

That which was said by my Servant, touching the raising from the Dead, shall be printed. That only which was said by him, [*Pointing to J. P—r*] with what was said directly, upon the same Subject, before that, by any other of my Servants.

N. B. Several other of the Inspired have, since the aforesaid Order for printing, bore their Testimony, under Inspiration, to the Predictions of raising the said dead Body, at the appointed Time.

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Hickes, George / Lee, Francis / Spinckes, Nathaniel

The spirit of Enthusiasm exorcised In a sermon with two discourses ... the
first 'the history of Montanisme' by Dr. Lee ... the other 'the new
pretenders' ... by N. Spinckes

London 1709

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